



Acerca de este libro

Esta es una copia digital de un libro que, durante generaciones, se ha conservado en las estanterías de una biblioteca, hasta que Google ha decidido escanearlo como parte de un proyecto que pretende que sea posible descubrir en línea libros de todo el mundo.

Ha sobrevivido tantos años como para que los derechos de autor hayan expirado y el libro pase a ser de dominio público. El que un libro sea de dominio público significa que nunca ha estado protegido por derechos de autor, o bien que el período legal de estos derechos ya ha expirado. Es posible que una misma obra sea de dominio público en unos países y, sin embargo, no lo sea en otros. Los libros de dominio público son nuestras puertas hacia el pasado, suponen un patrimonio histórico, cultural y de conocimientos que, a menudo, resulta difícil de descubrir.

Todas las anotaciones, marcas y otras señales en los márgenes que estén presentes en el volumen original aparecerán también en este archivo como testimonio del largo viaje que el libro ha recorrido desde el editor hasta la biblioteca y, finalmente, hasta usted.

Normas de uso

Google se enorgullece de poder colaborar con distintas bibliotecas para digitalizar los materiales de dominio público a fin de hacerlos accesibles a todo el mundo. Los libros de dominio público son patrimonio de todos, nosotros somos sus humildes guardianes. No obstante, se trata de un trabajo caro. Por este motivo, y para poder ofrecer este recurso, hemos tomado medidas para evitar que se produzca un abuso por parte de terceros con fines comerciales, y hemos incluido restricciones técnicas sobre las solicitudes automatizadas.

Asimismo, le pedimos que:

- + *Haga un uso exclusivamente no comercial de estos archivos* Hemos diseñado la Búsqueda de libros de Google para el uso de particulares; como tal, le pedimos que utilice estos archivos con fines personales, y no comerciales.
- + *No envíe solicitudes automatizadas* Por favor, no envíe solicitudes automatizadas de ningún tipo al sistema de Google. Si está llevando a cabo una investigación sobre traducción automática, reconocimiento óptico de caracteres u otros campos para los que resulte útil disfrutar de acceso a una gran cantidad de texto, por favor, envíenos un mensaje. Fomentamos el uso de materiales de dominio público con estos propósitos y seguro que podremos ayudarle.
- + *Conserve la atribución* La filigrana de Google que verá en todos los archivos es fundamental para informar a los usuarios sobre este proyecto y ayudarles a encontrar materiales adicionales en la Búsqueda de libros de Google. Por favor, no la elimine.
- + *Manténgase siempre dentro de la legalidad* Sea cual sea el uso que haga de estos materiales, recuerde que es responsable de asegurarse de que todo lo que hace es legal. No dé por sentado que, por el hecho de que una obra se considere de dominio público para los usuarios de los Estados Unidos, lo será también para los usuarios de otros países. La legislación sobre derechos de autor varía de un país a otro, y no podemos facilitar información sobre si está permitido un uso específico de algún libro. Por favor, no suponga que la aparición de un libro en nuestro programa significa que se puede utilizar de igual manera en todo el mundo. La responsabilidad ante la infracción de los derechos de autor puede ser muy grave.

Acerca de la Búsqueda de libros de Google

El objetivo de Google consiste en organizar información procedente de todo el mundo y hacerla accesible y útil de forma universal. El programa de Búsqueda de libros de Google ayuda a los lectores a descubrir los libros de todo el mundo a la vez que ayuda a autores y editores a llegar a nuevas audiencias. Podrá realizar búsquedas en el texto completo de este libro en la web, en la página <http://books.google.com>

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



E

407

A3

1846

U.S. Pres. (Polk)

Message

on

Hostilities

by

Mexico

1846

The University of Chicago
Libraries



DURRETT COLLECTION

The University of Chicago
Libraries



DURRETT COLLECTION

HOSTILITIES BY MEXICO.

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

RELATIVE TO

An invasion and commencement of hostilities by Mexico.

MAY 11, 1846.

Read, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

To the Senate and House of Representatives :

The existing state of the relations between the United States and Mexico renders it proper that I should bring the subject to the consideration of Congress. In my message at the commencement of your present session, the state of these relations, the causes which led to the suspension of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries in March, 1845, and the long-continued and unredressed wrongs and injuries committed by the Mexican government on citizens of the United States, in their persons and property, were briefly set forth.

As the facts and opinions which were then laid before you were carefully considered, I cannot better express my present convictions of the condition of affairs up to that time, than by referring you to that communication.

The strong desire to establish peace with Mexico on liberal and honorable terms, and the readiness of this government to regulate and adjust our boundary, and other causes of difference with that power, on such fair and equitable principles as would lead to permanent relations of the most friendly nature, induced me in September last to seek the reopening of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Every measure adopted on our part had for its object the furtherance of these desired results. In communicating to Congress a succinct statement of the injuries which we had suffered from Mexico, and which have been accumulating during a period of more than twenty years, every expression that could tend to inflame the people of Mexico, or defeat or delay a pacific result, was carefully avoided. An envoy of the United States repaired to Mexico, with full powers to adjust every existing difference. But though present on the Mexican soil, by agreement between the two governments, invested with full powers, and bearing evidence of the most friendly dispositions, his mission has been unavailing. The Mexican government not only re-

Richie & Heiss, print.

fused to receive him, or listen to his propositions, but, after a long-continued series of menaces, have at last invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil.

It now becomes my duty to state more in detail the origin, progress, and failure of that mission. In pursuance of the instructions given in September last, an inquiry was made, on the thirteenth of October, 1845, in the most friendly terms, through our consul in Mexico, of the minister for foreign affairs, whether the Mexican government "would receive an envoy from the United States intrusted with full powers to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments;" with the assurance that "should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy would be immediately despatched to Mexico." The Mexican minister, on the fifteenth of October, gave an affirmative answer to this inquiry, requesting, at the same time, that our naval force at Vera Cruz might be withdrawn, lest its continued presence might assume the appearance of menace and coercion pending the negotiations. This force was immediately withdrawn. On the 10th of November, 1845, Mr. John Slidell, of Louisiana, was commissioned by me as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, and was entrusted with full powers to adjust both the questions of the Texas boundary and of indemnification to our citizens. The redress of the wrongs of our citizens naturally and inseparably blended itself with the question of boundary. The settlement of the one question, in any correct view of the subject, involves that of the other. I could not, for a moment, entertain the idea that the claims of our much injured and long suffering citizens, many of which had existed for more than twenty years, should be postponed, or separated from the settlement of the boundary question.

Mr. Slidell arrived at Vera Cruz on the 30th of November, and was courteously received by the authorities of that city. But the government of General Herrera was then tottering to its fall. The revolutionary party had seized upon the Texas question to effect or hasten its overthrow. Its determination to restore friendly relations with the United States, and to receive our minister, to negotiate for the settlement of this question, was violently assailed, and was made the great theme of denunciation against it. The government of General Herrera, there is good reason to believe, was sincerely desirous to receive our minister; but it yielded to the storm raised by its enemies, and on the 21st of December refused to accredit Mr. Slidell upon the most frivolous pretexts. These are so fully and ably exposed in the note of Mr. Slidell, of the 24th of December last, to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, herewith transmitted, that I deem it unnecessary to enter into further detail on this portion of the subject.

Five days after the date of Mr. Slidell's note, General Herrera yielded the government to General Paredes, without a struggle, and on the 30th of December resigned the presidency. This revolution was accomplished solely by the army, the people having taken little part in the contest; and thus the supreme power in Mexico passed into the hands of a military leader.

Determined to leave no effort untried to effect an amicable adjustment with Mexico, I directed Mr. Slidell to present his credentials to the government of General Paredes, and ask to be officially received by him. There would have been less ground for taking this step had General Paredes come into power by a regular constitutional succession. In that event

his administration would have been considered but a mere constitutional continuance of the government of General Herrera, and the refusal of the latter to receive our minister would have been deemed conclusive, unless an intimation had been given by General Paredes of his desire to reverse the decision of his predecessor. But the government of General Paredes owes its existence to a military revolution, by which the subsisting constitutional authorities had been subverted. The form of government was entirely changed, as well as all the high functionaries by whom it was administered.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Slidell, in obedience to my direction, addressed a note to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, under date of the 1st of March last, asking to be received by that government in the diplomatic character to which he had been appointed. This minister, in his reply under date of the 12th of March, reiterated the arguments of his predecessor, and, in terms that may be considered as giving just grounds of offence to the government and people of the United States, denied the application of Mr. Slidell. Nothing, therefore, remained for our envoy but to demand his passports, and return to his own country.

Thus the government of Mexico, though solemnly pledged by official acts in October last to receive and accredit an American envoy, violated their plighted faith, and refused the offer of a peaceful adjustment of our difficulties. Not only was the offer rejected, but the indignity of its rejection was enhanced by the manifest breach of faith in refusing to admit the envoy, who came because they had bound themselves to receive him. Nor can it be said that the offer was fruitless from the want of opportunity of discussing it—our envoy was present on their own soil. Nor can it be ascribed to a want of sufficient powers—our envoy had full powers to adjust every question of difference. Nor was there room for complaint that our propositions for settlement were unreasonable—permission was not even given our envoy to make any proposition whatever. Nor can it be objected that we, on our part, would not listen to any reasonable terms of their suggestion—the Mexican government refused all negotiation, and have made no proposition of any kind.

In my message at the commencement of the present session, I informed you that, upon the earnest appeal both of the congress and convention of Texas, I had ordered an efficient military force to take a position "between the Nueces and the Del Norte." This had become necessary, to meet a threatened invasion of Texas by the Mexican forces, for which extensive military preparations had been made. The invasion was threatened solely because Texas had determined, in accordance with a solemn resolution of the Congress of the United States, to annex herself to our Union; and, under these circumstances, it was plainly our duty to extend our protection over her citizens and soil.

This force was concentrated at Corpus Christi, and remained there until after I had received such information from Mexico as rendered it probable, if not certain, that the Mexican government would refuse to receive our envoy.

Meantime Texas, by the final action of our Congress, had become an integral part of our Union. The Congress of Texas, by its act of December 19, 1836, had declared the Rio del Norte to be the boundary of that republic. Its jurisdiction had been extended and exercised beyond the Nueces. The country between that river and the Del Norte had been

12310

represented in the congress and in the convention of Texas; had, thus taken part in the act of annexation itself; and is now included within one of our congressional districts. Our own Congress had, moreover, with great unanimity, by the act approved December 31, 1845, recognised the country beyond the Nueces as a part of our territory, by including it within our own revenue system; and a revenue officer, to reside within that district, has been appointed, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It became, therefore, of urgent necessity to provide for the defence of that portion of our country. Accordingly, on the 13th of January last, instructions were issued to the general in command of these troops to occupy the left bank of the Del Norte. This river, which is the southwestern boundary of the State of Texas, is an exposed frontier; from this quarter invasion was threatened; upon it, and in its immediate vicinity, in the judgment of high military experience, are the proper stations for the protecting forces of the government. In addition to this important consideration, several others occurred to induce this movement. Among these are the facilities afforded by the ports at Brazos Santiago and the mouth of the Del Norte, for the reception of supplies by sea; the stronger and more healthful military positions; the convenience for obtaining a ready and a more abundant supply of provisions, water, fuel, and forage; and the advantages which are afforded by the Del Norte in forwarding supplies to such posts as may be established in the interior and upon the Indian frontier.

The movement of the troops to the Del Norte was made by the commanding general, under positive instructions to abstain from all aggressive acts towards Mexico or Mexican citizens, and to regard the relations between that republic and the United States as peaceful, unless she should declare war, or commit acts of hostility indicative of a state of war. He was specially directed to protect private property, and respect personal rights.

The army moved from Corpus Christi on the eleventh of March, and on the twenty-eighth of that month arrived on the left bank of the Del Norte, opposite to Matamoras, where it encamped on a commanding position, which has since been strengthened by the erection of field works. A dépôt has also been established at Point Isabel, near the Brazos Santiago, thirty miles in rear of the encampment. The selection of his position was necessarily confided to the judgment of the general in command.

The Mexican forces at Matamoras assumed a belligerent attitude, and, on the twelfth of April, General Ampudia, then in command, notified General Taylor to break up his camp within twenty-four hours, and to retire beyond the Nueces river, and, in the event of his failure to comply with these demands, announced that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question. But no open act of hostility was committed until the twenty-fourth of April. On that day, General Arista, who had succeeded to the command of the Mexican forces, communicated to General Taylor that "he considered hostilities commenced, and should prosecute them." A party of dragoons, of sixty three men and officers, were on the same day despatched from the American camp up the Rio del Norte, on its left bank to ascertain whether the Mexican troops had crossed, or were preparing to cross, the river, "became engaged with a large body of these troops,

and, after a short affair, in which some sixteen were killed and wounded, appear to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender."

The grievous wrongs perpetrated by Mexico upon our citizens throughout a long period of years remain unredressed; and solemn treaties, pledging her public faith for this redress, have been disregarded. A government either unable or unwilling to enforce the execution of such treaties, fails to perform one of its plainest duties.

Our commerce with Mexico has been almost annihilated. It was formerly highly beneficial to both nations; but our merchants have been deterred from prosecuting it by the system of outrage and extortion which the Mexican authorities have pursued against them, whilst their appeals through their own government for indemnity have been made in vain. Our forbearance has gone to such an extreme as to be mistaken in its character. Had we acted with vigor in repelling the insults and redressing the injuries inflicted by Mexico at the commencement, we should doubtless have escaped all the difficulties in which we are now involved.

Instead of this, however, we have been exerting our best efforts to propitiate her good-will. Upon the pretext that Texas, a nation as independent as herself, thought proper to unite its destinies with our own, she has affected to believe that we have severed her rightful territory, and in official proclamations and manifestoes has repeatedly threatened to make war upon us, for the purpose of reconquering Texas. In the meantime, we have tried every effort at reconciliation. The cup of forbearance had been exhausted, even before the recent information from the frontier of the Del Norte. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war.

As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country.

Anticipating the possibility of a crisis like that which has arrived, instructions were given in August last, "as a precautionary measure" against invasion, or threatened invasion, authorizing General Taylor, if the emergency required, to accept volunteers, not from Texas only, but from the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and corresponding letters were addressed to the respective governors of those States. These instructions were repeated; and, in January last, soon after the incorporation of "Texas into our union of States," General Taylor was further "authorized by the President to make a requisition upon the executive of that State for such of its militia force as may be needed to repel invasion, or to secure the country against apprehended invasion." On the second day of March he was again reminded, "in the event of the approach of any considerable Mexican force, promptly and efficiently to use the authority with which he was clothed to call to him such auxiliary force as he might need." War actually existing, and our territory having been invaded, General Taylor, pursuant to authority vested in him by my direction, has called on the governor of Texas for four regiments of State troops—two to be mounted, and two to serve on foot; and on the governor of Louisiana for four regiments of infantry, to be sent to him as soon as practicable.

In further vindication of our rights, and defence of our territory, I invoke the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace. To this end I recommend that authority should be given to call into the public service a large body of volunteers, to serve for not less than six or twelve months, unless sooner discharged. A volunteer force is, beyond question more efficient than any other description of citizen soldiers; and it is not to be doubted that a number far beyond that required would readily rush to the field upon the call of their country. I further recommend that a liberal provision be made for sustaining our entire military force and furnishing it with supplies and munitions of war.

The most energetic and prompt measures, and the immediate appearance in arms of a large and overpowering force, are recommended to Congress as the most certain and efficient means of bringing the existing collision with Mexico to a speedy and successful termination.

In making these recommendations, I deem it proper to declare that it is my anxious desire not only to terminate hostilities speedily, but to bring all matters in dispute between this government and Mexico to an early and amicable adjustment; and, in this view, I shall be prepared to renew negotiations, whenever Mexico shall be ready to receive propositions, or to make propositions of her own.

I transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence between our envoy to Mexico and the Mexican minister for foreign affairs; and so much of the correspondence between that envoy and the Secretary of State, and between the Secretary of War and the general in command of the Del Norte, as is necessary to a full understanding of the subject.

JAMES K. POLK.

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1846.

List of papers.

No. 1. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Black, of 17th September, 1845.

2. Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan, of 17th October, 1845.

Two enclosures—

1. Mr. Black to Mr. Peña y Peña.

2. Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Black.

3. Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan, of 28th October, 1845.

4. Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan, of 4th November, 1845.

Four enclosures—

1. Mr. Black to Mr. Peña.

2. Commodore Conner to Mr. Dimond.

3. Mr. Peña to Mr. Black.

4. Mr. Black to Mr. Peña.

5. Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan, of 18th December, 1845.

6. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 17th December, 1845.

Four enclosures—

1. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña.

[Letter of credence.]

2. Mr. Black to Mr. Slidell.

3. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña.

4. Mr. Peña to Mr. Slidell.

7. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 27th December, 1845.

Three enclosures—

1. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña.

2. Mr. Peña to Mr. Slidell.

3. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña.

8. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 14th January, 1846.

One enclosure—

1. Mr. Peña to Mr. Buchanan.

9. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell, of 20th January, 1846.

10. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell, of 28th January, 1846.

11. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 6th February, 1846.

One enclosure—

1. Mr. Peña's report to the council of government.

12. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 17th February, 1846.

13. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 1st March, 1846.

One enclosure—

1. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Castillo.

14. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell, of 12th March, 1846.

15. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 18th March, 1846.

Two enclosures—

1. Mr. Castillo to Mr. Slidell.

2. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Castillo.

16. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 27th March, 1846.

17. Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan, of 2d April, 1846.

One enclosure—

1. Mr. Castillo to Mr. Slidell

No. 1.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Black.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington City, September 17, 1845.

Information recently received at this department, both from yourself and others, renders it probable that the Mexican government may now be willing to restore the diplomatic relations between the two countries. At the time of their suspension, General Almonte was assured of the desire felt by the President to adjust amicably every cause of complaint between the governments, and to cultivate the kindest and most friendly relations between the sister republics. He still continues to be animated by the same sentiments. It was his duty to place the country in a condition successfully to resist the threatened invasion of Texas by Mexico, and this has been accomplished. He desires, however, that all existing differences should be terminated amicably by negotiation and not by the sword. He is anxious to preserve peace, although prepared for war.

Actuated by these sentiments, the President has directed me to instruct you, in the absence of any diplomatic agent in Mexico, to ascertain from the Mexican government whether they would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments. Should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy will be immediately despatched to Mexico.

If the President were disposed to stand upon a mere question of etiquette, he would wait until the Mexican government, which had suspended the diplomatic relations between the two countries, should ask that they may be restored. But his desire is so strong to terminate the present unfortunate state of our relations with that republic, that he has consented to waive all ceremony and take the initiative.

So soon as you shall have received the answer of that government, you will communicate a copy of it, without delay, by some safe opportunity, to F. M. Dimond, esq., our consul at Vera Cruz. You will also transmit a copy to this department. It is of great consequence that you should use as much despatch as possible in executing this important commission. The future course of this government may, and probably will, depend upon the answer which you may receive.

I need scarcely warn you to preserve the most inviolable secrecy in regard to your proceedings, making no communication to any person, with the exception of Dr. Parrott, not indispensable to the accomplishment of the object. There will be a vessel-of-war at Vera Cruz, ready to receive your despatch for this department, and to convey it to the United States with the least possible delay.

I shall transmit this despatch, under an unsealed cover, but with the strictest injunctions of secrecy, to Mr. Dimond, as it is deemed advisable that he should be acquainted with its contents.

The President relies with confidence on your zeal and ability in executing the important duty committed to your charge.

I am, &c.

No. 2.

Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Mexico, October 17, 1845.

I had the honor, on the 10th instant, of receiving your communication of the 17th ultimo. * * * * * On Saturday evening, the 11th instant, I obtained a confidential interview with the minister of foreign relations of the Mexican republic, in relation to the important charge which his excellency the President of the United States was pleased to confide to me, and am happy now to have it in my power to advise my government of a favorable result: the proceedings had with the Mexican government in this affair will be seen by reference to the enclosed documents, Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 1 is a copy of a confidential communication addressed by this consulate to his excellency the minister of foreign relations of the Mexican government; and No. 2 is a copy of the said minister's answer to said communication.

When I handed the aforesaid communications to his excellency on Monday the 13th instant, I requested that an answer might be given as early as possible, and desired to be informed at what time it would likely be given. He promised that on Wednesday evening the 15th, and requested at that time a private interview with me, to be at eight o'clock in the evening, (not at the department, he said, but at his private dwelling,) in order, as he said, that the affair might be kept as close and as little exposed to public view as possible, to avoid suspicion. At the time appointed, I went to his house; he (being alone in his study) received me cordially and politely, and told me the answer was ready, and only wanted his signature, which he placed to it in my presence, stating, at the same time, that he would accompany the answer with some verbal, frank, and confidential explanations; which, after reading to me the answer, he did, in the following manner:

He said that the Mexican government, notwithstanding it felt itself very much aggrieved and offended by the acts of that of the United States, in relation to the affairs of Texas, yet it would appear to be out of place to express these feelings in a communication of this nature; and that, if the government had but itself to consult, the expression of these feelings would have been left out of the communication, as they only tend to irritate; but that I knew, as well as he did, that governments like ours must endeavor to reconcile the feelings and opinions of the people to their public acts; and that I also knew, very well, that a strong opposition were daily calling the attention of the public to, and scrutinizing and condemning every act of, the government, and that the government endeavored to give them as little pretext as possible; and, therefore, wished me to make this explanation to my government.

And that, in relation to the qualities he had recommended to be possessed by the person to be sent out by the government of the United States for the settlement of existing differences, it was the wish of the Mexican government, and would be for the good of both countries,

that a person suitable in every respect should be sent, endued with the necessary qualities, and not one against whom the government or people of Mexico should, unfortunately, entertain a fixed prejudice, which would be a great obstacle in the way to an amicable adjustment of differences.

And that, in order that the coming of the commissioner might not have the appearance of being forced on them by threat, his government wished the naval force of the United States, now in sight of Vera Cruz, should retire from that place before his arrival; and requested that I should inform his government, by a communication, as soon as I should know the fact, of their having left. These things he repeated more than once, and with the appearance of a great deal of earnestness, and enjoined it upon me not to fail to advise my government; and that he communicated these things to me, not as minister, but as an individual and friend, who wished for the good exit of the contemplated mission.

Notwithstanding my communication to the Mexican government of the 13th instant was of the most confidential character, as well as all the proceedings in relation to the affair, and this at the request of the Mexican minister, who himself enjoined secrecy upon me, and promised the strictest adherence to it, on his part,

So you will be able to see what reliance can be placed on the most solemn injunctions of secrecy, as far as this government is concerned.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Black to Mr. Peña y Peña.

[Confidential.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Mexico, October 13, 1845.

The undersigned, consul of the United States of America, in a confidential interview with his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, which took place on the evening of the 11th instant, had the honor to advise his excellency that he, the undersigned, had received a communication from the Secretary of State of the United States; and having, in that interview, made known to his excellency the substance of said communication, which contained a reiteration of the sentiments which, at the time of the suspension of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, had been expressed to General Almonte, and which were now renewed, and offered to the consideration of the Mexican government.

His excellency having heard, and considered with due attention, the statement read from the communication aforesaid, and having stated that, as the diplomatic relations between the two governments had been and were still suspended, the present interview could and should have no other character than that of a confidential meeting, which was assented to, and only considered in that light by the undersigned.

His excellency was then pleased to request that the undersigned might, in the same confidential manner, communicate in writing what had thus

been made known verbally. In conformity to that request, the undersigned has now the honor to transcribe herewith that part of the communication of the Secretary of State of the United States, referred to, and is in the following words, viz: "At that time of the suspension of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, General Almonte was assured of the desire felt by the President to adjust amicably every cause of complaint between the governments, and to cultivate the kindest and most friendly relations between the sister republics. He still continues to be animated by the same sentiments. He desires that all existing differences should be terminated amicably by negotiation, and not by the sword."

"Actuated by these sentiments, the President has directed me to instruct you, in the absence of any diplomatic agent in Mexico, to ascertain from the Mexican government whether they would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments. Should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy will be immediately despatched to Mexico?"

The undersigned can assure his excellency that it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction he sees in the preceding proposition on the part of the President of the United States, (notwithstanding the preparations for war on both sides,) that a door is still left open for conciliation, whereby all existing differences may be amicably and equitably adjusted, and the honor of both nations preserved inviolate, and their friendly relations restored and fixed upon a firmer foundation than they unfortunately have hitherto been; and the undersigned has reason to believe that they will not be blinded to their mutual interest, nor suffer themselves to become the victims of the machinations of their mutual enemies.

If the President of the United States had been disposed to stand upon a mere question of etiquette, he would have waited until the Mexican government, which had suspended the diplomatic relations between the two countries, should have asked that they might be restored; but his desire is so strong to terminate the present unfortunate state of our relations with this republic, that he has even consented to waive all ceremony, and take the initiative.

In view of what is hereinbefore set forth, the undersigned is fully persuaded that the Mexican government will not misconstrue the benevolent sentiments of the President of the United States, nor mistake his motives.

His excellency will be pleased to return an answer with as little delay as possible, and, in the meantime, the undersigned avails himself of the occasion to renew to his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, the assurances of his distinguished consideration and personal regard.

JOHN BLACK.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Black.

[Confidential.]

Mexico, October 15, 1845.

SIR: I have informed my government of the private conference which took place between you and myself on the 11th instant, and have submit-

ted to it the confidential letter which you, in consequence of, and agreeably to what was then said, addressed to me yesterday. In answer, I have to say to you, that although the Mexican nation is deeply injured by the United States, through the acts committed by them in the department of Texas, which belongs to this nation, my government is disposed to receive the commissioner of the United States who may come to this capital with full powers from his government to settle the present dispute in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner; thus giving a new proof, that even in the midst of its injuries, and of its firm decision to exact adequate reparation for them, it does not repel with contumely the measure of reason and peace, to which it is invited by its adversary.

As my government believes this invitation to be made in good faith, and with the real desire that it may lead to a favorable conclusion, it also hopes that the commissioner will be a person endowed with the qualities proper for the attainment of this end; that his dignity, prudence, and moderation, and the discreteness and reasonableness of his proposals, will contribute to calm as much as possible the just irritation of the Mexicans; and, in fine, that the conduct of the commissioner on all points may be such as to persuade them that they may obtain satisfaction for their injuries, through the means of reason and peace, and without being obliged to resort to those of arms and force.

What my government requires above all things is, that the mission of the commissioner of the United States, and his reception by us, should appear to be always absolutely frank, and free from every sign of menace or coercion. And thus, Mr. consul, while making known to your government the disposition on the part of that of Mexico to receive the commissioner, you should impress upon it, as indispensable, the previous recall of the whole naval force now lying in sight of our port of Vera Cruz. Its presence would degrade Mexico, while she is receiving the commissioner, and would justly subject the United States to the imputation of contradicting, by acts, the vehement desire of conciliation, peace, and friendship, which is professed and asserted by words.

I have made known to you, Mr. consul, with the brevity which you desired, the disposition of my government; and in so doing, I have the satisfaction to assure you of my consideration and esteem for you personally.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

To JOHN BLACK, Esq.,

Consul of the United States at Mexico.

No. 3.

Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Mexico, October 28, 1845.

I had the honor of addressing you on the 17th and 18th inst., in answer to your communication of the 17th ultimo, enclosing to you the answer of the Mexican government to my communication of the 12th instant.

The Mexican government is very anxious to know when they may expect the envoy from the United States; and, also, that I may soon be able to give it the information of the American squadron having retired from the port of Vera Cruz.

We have rumors every day that a revolution is shortly to take place, but, as yet, things are quiet. Let this go as it will, I think an arrangement is safe, as it has the sanction of the Mexican Congress in secret session.

No. 4.

Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extract.]

CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Mexico, November 4, 1845.

A revolution is still talked of here, but the government is using all its vigilance to prevent it. It has its suspicions of General Paredes, and has sent orders for him to break up his cantonment at San Luis, and to disperse the troops to different parts of the republic. He must either obey this order, which will leave him without command, or pronounce against the government.

If he pronounces, it will be for a military government, and, in that case, the federalists will join the government, and Paredes will be put down. I wish this government may stand, as I think it well disposed to arrange all matters in dispute with the United States. I hope a minister will soon arrive to commence and secure the negotiation. There should be no delay.

You will please to find enclosed copies of various documents from No. 1 to No. 4 inclusive, as follows, viz:

No. 1.—Copy of a confidential communication of the 29th October, from this consulate, to the minister of foreign relations of the Mexican republic, advising of the withdrawal of the naval force of the United States from before Vera Cruz, and enclosing a copy of Commodore Conner's letter to F. M. Dimond, esq., United States consul, Vera Cruz, relating to the same.

No. 2.—Copy of Commodore Conner's letter as aforesaid.

No. 3.—Copy of a confidential communication of the 31st ultimo, received from the minister of foreign affairs, relating to the appearance of a vessel in the bay of Manzanillo, on the Pacific, said to be a United States armed vessel, &c.

No. 4.—Copy of the reply of this consulate to the above communication, dated the 3d instant.

On the morning of the 30th ultimo; Mr. Monasterio, the chief clerk of the foreign department of this government, called at this consulate, stating that he had come on the part of his excellency the minister, to say he had received my note of the 29th ultimo, and should answer it in writing; but, in the meantime, he had to communicate to me a disagreeable occurrence which had taken place at the port of Manzanillo; that an American

armed vessel had entered the bay and had very much alarmed the authorities of that place, which news the government had received direct by express; and he offered, if I would call at the department, to show me the official account, that I might know the particulars. In the course of the same morning I called as requested, when I found that the name of the vessel did not correspond to any of our armed vessels. I told him we had no vessel of that name in our navy. He replied that there might be a mistake in the name, but that it was an armed vessel of the United States. I then told him if his excellency the minister would give me a statement, in a confidential communication, I would see what could be done, and answer him, the result of which you have in Nos. 3 and 4.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Black to Mr. Peña y Peña.

[Confidential.]

CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Mexico, October 29, 1845.

The undersigned, consul of the United States of America, has the honor to advise his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, in view of the confidential note of his excellency of the 15th instant, in answer to that of the undersigned of the 13th, and also of the verbal request that the undersigned might inform his excellency of the occurrence of the withdrawal of the American squadron from before Vera Cruz whenever that event should take place. In compliance with that request, the undersigned has the honor to transmit herewith to his excellency a copy of a communication addressed by Commodore Conner, commander of the American squadron before Vera Cruz, to the American consul, F. M. Diamond, esq., of that place, by which his excellency will see that the wishes of the Mexican government have been, in this respect, fully and promptly complied with.

In communicating this to the Mexican government, the undersigned avails himself of the occasion to renew to his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, the assurance of his distinguished consideration and personal esteem.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Commodore Conner to Mr. Diamond.

U. S. SHIP FALMOUTH, OFF SACRIFICIOS,
October 23, 1845.

By the letter of Mr. Black, which you were kind enough to send me this morning, I learn that the proposition to enter into negotiation, made by our government to that of this country, had been accepted. There appears to exist, on the part of this government, some fear lest they should

be accused of being forced into this measure by the hostile attitude of the United States.

Being fully aware that our government has had no intention of threatening this country, but, on the contrary, has always been actuated by a sincere desire to heal existing differences in a manner honorable to both nations, I believe that I shall best contribute to such an arrangement by withdrawing our naval force from before Vera Cruz.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Black.

[Private.]

OCTOBER 31, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR: Although this is not to be understood, in any way, as an intimation of the reopening of the friendly relations at present interrupted between Mexico and the United States, I find myself compelled, by an occurrence which has recently taken place on our coast of the Pacific, to address myself to you, inasmuch as this is demanded by the very nature of the occurrence, and the actual state which at this day is preserved by both governments.

It will be within the knowledge of the consul, that a sloop-of-war of his nation, named the "Palomita," is cruising in the Pacific, for this vessel has entered the bay of the port of Manzanillo, and a captain and a lieutenant colonel have landed from her, who have made known that said corvette is commanded by Mr. Maist Possets; that she carries twenty-two guns, and a crew of two hundred and thirteen men. The result being, that the local authorities took alarm, and placed themselves in a posture of defence, as was natural on the presence of a ship-of-war, and from the conduct of her commander.

The government of Mexico has given its orders, for the purpose of suspending for the present any act of hostility against the United States, and limits itself to the defensive, awaiting the issue of the negotiation proposed by the government of the United States through the consul; and this proceeding demands, with still greater reason, that, on the part of the one which has taken the initiative in that negotiation, the same preventive orders should be issued to the respective commanders in the navy of the United States, in order that, whilst the present *statu quo* shall last, no vessel of war of its navy shall present itself with hostile display in any of our ports on either coast, or do any other act which may awaken apprehension in the local authorities or inhabitants of those coasts.

This is very conformable to the principles of justice; and it will be an evidence of proceeding in good faith, and with sincerity towards the pacific arrangement of the pending questions between Mexico and the United States.

I remain, with the greatest consideration.

[Enclosure No. 4]

Mr. Black to Mr. Peña y Peña.

[Confidential.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, November 3, 1845.

The undersigned, consul of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the confidential note of his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, dated the 31st ultimo, in which the attention of the undersigned is called to a disagreeable occurrence which has taken place at the port of Manzanillo, by the entry of a vessel in the bay of said port, said to be an armed vessel of the United States, called the "Palomita;" that a captain and lieutenant colonel had disembarked, from whom it was ascertained that the said vessel (corbeta) was commanded by Maist Possets, and armed with twenty-two guns, and two hundred and thirteen men, and that the authorities of that place became alarmed, and put themselves in a state of defence in consequence of the appearance of said vessel and the conduct of its commander.

The undersigned regrets much that any such occurrence has happened to give uneasiness and alarm to the local authorities of Manzanillo, and that the attention of the Mexican government at this peculiar juncture in the affairs of the two countries should be occupied and disturbed by accounts of this nature. But the undersigned has reason to believe that, as far as the United States and its authorities are concerned, the affair has been misreported. As, in the first place, the United States has no vessel of any description called the Palomita, nor the word corresponding to it in English, neither is there an officer in the whole United States navy, from a midshipman up to a commodore, by the name of Maist Possets, nor a vessel of the rate of twenty-two guns. All these corroborating circumstances go to show that the said vessel cannot be an armed vessel of the United States as reported, in relation to which the Mexican government will no doubt soon be undeceived by the same authorities from whom it has received its information.

His excellency is further pleased to state that the Mexican government has given orders to suspend all hostile acts against the United States for the present, and that this requires that like preventive orders be given by the other side to the respective commanders of the United States navy, during the present "*statu quo*" for United States vessels of war not to present themselves in any of the Mexican ports, either of the north or south, with hostile show, nor do any other act which might inspire the authorities and inhabitants of the said coasts with suspicion.

The undersigned would here observe, that the government and people of Mexico have reason to believe that the government of the United States is far from entertaining any hostile intentions towards Mexico, as is fully demonstrated by the late conciliatory measures moved and adopted by it towards the latter; and his excellency must be satisfied, from what has already transpired, that the undersigned is well disposed to do everything in his power to accommodate things to the wishes of the Mexican government, as far as is consistent with a discharge of his duty to that of his own; and he would be as careful not to offend nor wound the rights and

honor of Mexico, as he would be to defend and sustain the rights and honor of his own country.

With reference to his confidential note of the 29th ultimo, the undersigned avails himself of the occasion to renew to his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, the assurance of his distinguished consideration and personal regard.

No. 5.

Mr. Black to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extract.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, December 18, 1845.

On Wednesday, the 3d instant, I received a letter from our consul at Vera Cruz, dated the 29th of November, informing me that a vessel had just arrived at Sacrificios, on board of which was the Hon. John Slidell, who had sent for him, the said consul, to come down to that place, as he wished to leave Vera Cruz for this capital by that night's diligence, but he, the consul, was of opinion he would not be able to leave until the next stage.

On the receipt of this letter I called at the Foreign Department of this government, to see the minister of foreign affairs, and was informed by Mr. Monasterio, the chief clerk, that the minister was up stairs with the President, and that he was going up to see him, and would advise him of my wish. He soon returned, and requested me to go up, as the minister wished to see me. I went up to the President's quarters, when the minister came out into the ante-chamber and met me, and accosted me saying that the government was informed that there was an arrival at Vera Cruz from the United States, bringing out a commissioner, by which the government was taken by surprise, and asked me who could this commissioner be, and what had he come for? I told him I did not know, but I presumed it was the envoy which the Mexican government had agreed to receive from the government of the United States; all the information which I had upon the subject was, that the consul of the United States at Vera Cruz had advised me, in a letter under date of the 29th of November, that the Hon. John Slidell had just arrived at Sacrificios, and wished to leave Vera Cruz for this capital by the first diligence, and that I was under the impression that this person was an envoy from the government of the United States to that of Mexico, as we had good reason to expect one about this time. He said that ought not to be; the government did not expect an envoy from the United States until January, as they were not prepared to receive him; and he desired, if possible, that he would not come to the capital, nor even disembark at this time, and that I should endeavor to prevent his doing so, as his appearance in the capital at this time might prove destructive to the government, and thus defeat the whole affair. You know the opposition are calling us traitors, for entering into this arrangement with you. I told him I regretted this had not been

known in time, as the envoy would be now on his way to this capital, and that the Mexican government had set no time for his arrival, and it was to be presumed that they would be ready to receive him whenever he arrived. I know, he said, there was no time set; but from the conversations which I have had with yourself, and what I have heard from others, I had good reason to believe that the envoy would not have been appointed by your government, or, at least, not have started on his mission, until after the meeting of Congress; which, he said, he understood would not meet until the first of this month.

He said that the government itself was well disposed, and ready to proceed in the negotiation, but that if the affair was commenced now, it would endanger its existence; that the government were preparing the thing, collecting the opinion and consent of the departments, which they expected to have finished by January, and then they would be able to proceed in the affair with more security; that the government were afraid that the appearance of the envoy at this time would produce a revolution against it, which might terminate in its destruction.

No. 6.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, December 17, 1845.

By my letter of 30th ultimo, I had the honor to inform you of my safe arrival at Vera Cruz. I reached this city on Saturday the 6th instant, having been detained two days by the stoppage of the mail coach at Jalapa. At Puebla, I was met by our consul, Mr. Black; who in some measure prepared me for the delays and difficulties which I should have to contend with, in placing myself in relation with this government, by informing me, that in a private interview which he had had with the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, for the purpose of announcing to him my arrival at Vera Cruz, that functionary had manifested great surprise that a minister should have presented himself so soon, and intimated that the state of things was such that he should have preferred less promptness on the part of our government. On Monday the 8th instant, I addressed to the minister of foreign affairs a note, in the usual form, announcing my arrival in the capital, accompanying it with a copy of my letter of credence and your official communication to the minister of foreign affairs, and asking to be informed when and where I should be admitted to present my credentials to the President. Of this note I annex a copy. It was handed by Mr. Black to the minister, who assured him that I should have an answer on the following Wednesday; and requested him to call and receive it. On that day, however, Mr. Black received a note from the secretary of the minister, stating that it was necessary to submit the matter to the council of government, and that he would be advised when the answer would be given. Mr. Black has since

had another interview with Mr. Peña, and has prepared, at my request, a statement of what passed between them, which I send you.

This council of government is a permanent body of a very anomalous character, composed of persons not removable by the Executive; its functions, so far as I can understand them, are, with a few exceptions, and these not applying to foreign relations, merely advisory, and no obligation exists on the part of the Executive, but in the exceptional cases, to consult the council. The council was not consulted when the Executive determined to renew diplomatic relations with the United States, and a recourse to it at this moment was altogether gratuitous. It is a notorious fact, that several of the members of this council are not only in open and violent opposition to the present administration, but are endeavoring to get up a revolutionary movement to overthrow it, and it is generally understood that a majority of them are unfavorably disposed towards it.

The impression here among the best informed persons is, that while the President and his cabinet are really desirous to enter frankly upon a negotiation which would terminate all their difficulties with the United States,

This at least is certain, the administration, in referring a matter entirely within their own competence to a body whose decision they cannot control, and upon whose sympathies they cannot rely, manifest either a weakness or a bad faith, which renders the prospect of any favorable issue to negotiations with them at best very problematical.

The deliberations of the council, although ostensibly confidential, soon became known out of doors. It has been twice or thrice convoked for the purpose of deliberating upon my reception, and it is perfectly well known that it has advised against it. The most absurd reasons have there been advanced against my recognition, so absurd, indeed, that they would appear scarcely credible to any one not upon the spot.

The objections started were, that my credentials did not appear to have been given with the sanction of Congress, that my appointment had not been confirmed by the Senate, that this government had agreed only to receive a commissioner, and that, consequently, the appointment of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary was not in accordance with the letter of the 15th October from the minister of foreign affairs to Mr. Black. That this letter only contemplated negotiations upon the subject of Texas; and finally, to cap the climax of absurdity, that my powers were not sufficient. I hope, before the closing of this despatch, to obtain information of the precise grounds upon which the council finally decided to recommend that I should not be received.

Having received no reply to my note of the 8th instant, and no assurance of the time when I might expect one, I addressed another on the 15th instant, (a copy of which you will find herewith,) stating my desire to communicate speedily with my government, and requesting to know when I might expect an answer. I have, while writing this, received a communication from the minister of foreign relations, of which I shall furnish you a copy. You will observe that it is dated yesterday, although I have no doubt that it was written after the final negative decision of the council which was rendered on that day. You will find it evasive and unsatisfactory, intimating difficulties respecting my credentials, and that negotiations were, by the terms of his letter to our consul, to be confined to the subject of Texas. It concludes with an assurance that I shall be

informed at the earliest moment of the decision of the council, to whom the matter had been submitted.

You will observe that this note is not addressed to me in my official capacity : the omission to do so is certainly not an accidental one. I feel considerably embarrassed as to the proper course to pursue in relation to this circumstance, unimportant in itself, but not without significance when taken in connexion with other circumstances. Your instructions direct me to bear and forbear much for the purpose of promoting the great objects of my mission.

As for myself, personally, I should feel very indifferent to any questions of mere etiquette, but in my representative capacity, I ought not silently to suffer any mark of disrespect. Although not yet recognised by this government as the person with whom it is willing to enter upon official relations, so far as my own is concerned, I am its representative here, and, all other considerations apart, the interests of my mission with a people attaching peculiar importance to forms require that I should not allow any violation of accustomed courtesies to pass unnoticed. My present intention is to address a note to the minister of foreign relations, couched in the most respectful terms, attributing the omission to address me by my proper title to inadvertence, and suggesting the expectation that it will not be repeated. This, however, I shall not do without proper reflection and consultation of precedents, if any such can be found. There is less reason for immediate reply, as I am satisfied that nothing is to be gained by pressing upon the government at this moment; their existence hangs by a thread, and they retain power, not by their own force, but solely by the inability of their opponents to agree among themselves. The great object of the administration, in all matters, is to gain time, to do nothing to compromit themselves, in the hope that if they can hold over until the meeting of the new Congress, which will take place on the 1st of January, they will then be enabled to maintain their position. It would seem presumptuous in me, having so recently arrived, and with my necessarily very limited acquaintance and means of information, to express any opinion on this subject, but I give it to you for what it may be worth. A revolution, and that before the meeting of Congress, is a probable event—a change of ministers almost a certain one. Notwithstanding the desire, which I believe the present administration really entertains, to adjust all their difficulties with us, so feeble and inert is it, that I am rather inclined to the opinion that the chances of a successful negotiation would be better with one more hostile, but possessing greater energy. The country, torn by conflicting factions, is in a state of perfect anarchy, its finances in a condition utterly desperate.

A refusal to treat with, or even receive me at all, in the only capacity in which I am authorized to act, under pretexts more or less plausible, is a possible (I ought, perhaps, to say a probable) event. This is a contingency which could not have been anticipated, and for which your instructions have consequently not provided. It will place me in a novel, awkward, and most embarrassing position, and impose upon me a grave responsibility. Should it occur, I shall endeavor so to conduct myself as to throw the whole odium of the failure of the negotiation upon this government; point out, in the most temperate manner, the inevitable consequences of so unheard-of a violation of all the usages which govern the intercourse between civilized nations; and declare my intention to remain

here until I can receive instructions adapted to the exigencies of the case. I trust that no time will be lost in furnishing me with instructions that will enable me to act promptly and decisively; and, to assure the requisite despatch, I would recommend that they be sent by a steamer from Pensacola. Sailing vessels are frequently from fifteen to twenty days making the passage from Havana, or the Balize, to Vera Cruz.

I send you files of the three principal papers published here, viz: the *Diario*, *Siglo*, and *Amigo del Pueblo*, which will enable you to form some idea of the state of public opinion as indicated by the press. The first is the official government paper: it has not made the slightest allusion to my arrival, and preserves upon all other debatable subjects a silence equally oracular. The second, although it has had a sort of semi-official character, and had heretofore supported the administration, has recently commented very freely upon its feebleness and inefficiency. The third is the leading opposition journal; it breathes the fiercest hostility against the United States, denounces the proposed negotiation as treason; and, in the last number, openly calls upon the troops and the people to put down the government by force.

I had hoped to have been prepared to forward with this a full statement of the facts connected with the disputed payment of instalments of the Mexican indemnity, but am not yet in possession of the necessary evidence; I am now engaged in collecting it, and expect to forward my report with my next despatches.

I send this by Lieutenant Kennedy, who, at my request, was detached by Captain Saunders from the *St. Mary's*; which ship will, immediately on the arrival of Lieut. K., proceed to Pensacola. I shall detain the *Porpoise* until I have something definite to communicate.

P. S. *December 18, 1845.*—At the moment I was about to close this, I obtained the dictamen of the council of government, published in the "*Siglo*." I send you the paper.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña y Peña.

MEXICO, *December 8, 1845.*

The undersigned, who has been appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near the Mexican government, has the honor to inform your excellency that he arrived in this capital on the evening of the 8th instant, and requests to be informed of the time and place at which he may have the honor to be admitted to present his letter of credence (a copy of which he encloses) to the most excellent President of the republic of Mexico, General José Joaquín Herrera.

He also begs leave to present, herewith, a letter addressed to your excellency by the Hon. James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to tender to your ex-

cellency the assurance of his profound respect and distinguished consideration.

JOHN SLIDELL.

To his Excellency MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA,
Minister of Foreign Relations and Government
of the Mexican Republic.

Mr. Slidell's letter of credence.

JAMES K. POLK,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I have made choice of John Slidell, one of our distinguished citizens, to reside near the government of the Mexican republic in the quality of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is well informed of the relative interests of the two countries, and of our sincere desire to restore, cultivate, and strengthen friendship and good correspondence between us; and, from a knowledge of his fidelity and good conduct, I have entire confidence that he will render himself acceptable to the Mexican government, by his constant endeavors to preserve and advance the interest and happiness of both nations. I, therefore, request your excellency to receive him favorably, and to give full credence to whatever he shall say on the part of the United States. And I pray God to have you in his safe and holy keeping.

Written at the city of Washington the tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, and of the independence of the United States the seventieth.

Your good friend,

JAMES K. POLK.

By the President:

JAMES BUCHANAN,
Secretary of State.

To his Excellency Don JOSE JOAQUIM HERRERA,
President of the Mexican Republic.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Mr. Black to Mr. Slidell.—Extracts.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, December 15, 1845.

In compliance with your request, I have the honor to give you, herewith, a written statement of what passed between his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, minister of foreign relations, &c., of the Mexican government, and myself, in the two interviews had with the said minister, on the evenings of the 8th and 13th instant, held at his house, as follows:

At the interview of Monday evening, the 8th instant, which took place

between the hours of 6 and 7, I stated to his excellency that I presumed he knew of the arrival in this city of the Hon. John Slidell, as envoy, &c., from the government of the United States. He replied that he had been informed of it that day. I then told him that I had made known to Mr. Slidell what his excellency had communicated to me, in our interview of Wednesday, the 3d instant, in relation to the fears entertained by the Mexican government on account of his arrival at this time, as it would have better suited the Mexican government, and they would be more able to carry out their views in relation to the mission, if the envoy had arrived a month later; and that our minister, Mr. Slidell, had regretted much that he had not known the wish of the Mexican government in relation to this point before he left home, as it would also have better suited his convenience to have deferred his coming a month longer; but it was his impression that it was the wish of the Mexican government that he should arrive with as little delay as possible.

His excellency replied that he had been under the impression, from what had been intimated by myself and others, that an envoy would not be appointed by the government of the United States until after the meeting of Congress; which would not take place until the first of December; that the Mexican government were engaged in collecting the opinion of the departments in relation to this affair, in order that they might be prepared and better able to carry out their views respecting the same; that he himself was well disposed to have everything amicably arranged, but that the opposition was strong, and opposed the government with great violence in this measure, and that the government had to proceed with great caution; that nothing positive could be done until the new Congress meet in January; but that, in the meantime, they would receive the minister's credentials, examine them, and be treating on the subject. He wished to know when I thought the minister would receive the confirmation of his appointment by the Senate. I said this he would likely know in a few days.

* * * * *

I then presented to his excellency the letter of the Hon. John Slidell, enclosing a copy of his credentials and a letter from the Hon. James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States; at the same time asking the Mexican minister when it would be convenient to give an answer; to which he replied, on Wednesday evening, the 10th instant, at the same hour and place, and requested that I would attend, to receive the same accordingly; to which I consented; but, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, I received a note from Mr. Monasterio, chief clerk of the foreign department, advising me that the minister could not receive me that night (as agreed on) on account of it having been determined to hear the opinion of the government council on the subject of the arrival of the minister from the United States; but as soon as he was ready for the conference arranged with me, he would have the pleasure to advise me, as will be seen by a copy of said note, which I transmit herewith.

On Saturday evening, the 13th instant, at the request of Mr. Slidell, I called on the Mexican minister, Señor Peña, at his house, to inquire when an answer would be given to his (Mr. Slidell's) aforesaid note. He replied that the affair had been submitted to the government council, in a special session of this day, and that it had been referred to a committee, and that as soon as the committee made a report, and the council should

decide, he would then advise me, through Mr. Monasterio, when he was ready for the conference to present to me the answer for Mr. Slidell; as he said when he came to examine the credentials of Mr. S. he found them to be the same as those presented by Mr. Shannon, and other former ministers—as a minister to reside near the government of Mexico, just as if there had been no suspension of the diplomatic and friendly relations between the two governments; that the Mexican government understood the present mission to be a special mission, and confined to the differences in relation to the Texas question, and not as a mission to reside near the Mexican government, as in ordinary cases; that of course would follow when the first question was decided.

I replied, that as I understood it, the Mexican government had not only agreed to receive an envoy, intrusted with full powers to settle the questions in dispute in relation to the affairs of Texas, but *all* the questions in dispute between the two governments, as proposed by the government of the United States. He replied that the credentials of Mr. Slidell had not reference to any questions in dispute, but merely as a minister to reside near the Mexican government, without reference to any questions in dispute, just as if the diplomatic and friendly relations between the two governments had not been and were not interrupted; that I knew the critical situation of the Mexican government, and that it had to proceed with great caution and circumspection in this affair; that the government itself was well disposed to arrange all differences.

He said he was happy to say that he had received very favorable information in relation to our minister, the Hon. Mr. Slidell; that he understood he was a person endued with excellent qualities, and an eminent lawyer; and as he himself was of that profession, they would be able to understand each other better, and that he would be much pleased to cultivate his acquaintance; and that if etiquette and the present state of affairs would permit, he would be happy to pay him a visit, even before he was presented to the government; and said he would advise me, through Mr. Monasterio, when he was ready to present to me the answer to Mr. Slidell's note.

The foregoing, sir, is, as far as my recollection will serve, a true statement of what passed between the aforesaid Mexican minister and myself in the beforementioned interviews.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña y Peña.

MEXICO, December 15, 1845.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, had the honor, on the 8th instant, to address a note to your excellency, informing him of the arrival of the undersigned in this capital, accompanying the same with a copy of his letters of credence, and requesting to be informed when and where he might have the honor of presenting his said letters of credence to the most excellent President of the Mexican republic, General José Joaquín de Herrera.

To this note the undersigned has not as yet received any reply. He is necessarily ignorant of the reasons which have caused so long a delay; but, inasmuch as he is desirous to communicate as speedily as possible with his government, he begs leave, most respectfully, to ask your excellency to inform him when he may expect to receive a reply to his note of the 8th instant.

The undersigned renews to his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

JOHN SLIDELL.

His Ex'y MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA,
*Minister of Foreign Relations and
 Government of the Mexican Republic.*

[Enclosure No. 4.]

Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Slidell.

PALACE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Mexico, December 16, 1845.

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations, in answer to the letter which his excellency Mr. John Slidell was pleased to address to him yesterday, has the honor to inform him that the delay in his reception, to which he alludes, and the consequent delay in answering his preceding note, making known his arrival in this capital, and accompanying a copy of his credentials, have arisen solely from certain difficulties, occasioned by the nature of those credentials, as compared with the proposition made by the United States, through their consul, to treat peacefully upon the affairs of Texas, with the person who should be appointed to that effect; for which reason it has been found necessary to submit the said credentials to the council of government, for its opinion with regard to them.

The undersigned will communicate the result to his excellency without loss of time; assuring him meanwhile that the government of Mexico is ready to proceed agreeably to what it proposed in its answer on the subject.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to offer to his excellency Mr. Slidell the assurances of his very distinguished consideration.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

His Excellency JOHN SLIDELL, &c., &c.

No. 7.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, December 27, 1845.

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a copy of my despatch of the 17th instant.

On the 20th instant, not having received, from the minister of foreign relations the reply in relation to my reception, which he had assured me would be made so soon as he should be informed of the results of the reference to the council of government, I thought it advisable to avail myself of the opportunity which his silence afforded to correct the statement made by him in his note of the 16th instant, that the United States had proposed, through their consul, to treat in a friendly manner respecting the affairs of Texas. I accordingly addressed him the communication, of which you will find a copy herewith; pointing out, briefly, the error into which he had fallen, with the hope, rather than the expectation, that it might induce him to withhold or qualify the reply which it was known, from the public declaration of the minister himself in the chamber of deputies, had been prepared, declaring the refusal of the President to receive me. On the 21st instant I received from Mr. Peña y Peña his promised reply, conveying the formal and unqualified refusal of the Mexican government to receive me in the character for which I am commissioned; of this most extraordinary document I send a copy. To this I replied, under date of the 24th instant, disproving the unfounded assertions of Mr. Peña y Peña, and refuting the arguments upon which the refusal to receive me was based. It would be superfluous for me to recapitulate what I have said in my letter to the minister of foreign relations, and I shall refer you for particulars to the accompanying copy.

I am not without apprehension lest, in my anxiety to preserve that tone of forbearance, in my intercourse with this government, which has been so strongly inculcated upon me by your instructions, I may have failed to animadvert with becoming spirit on its unparalleled bad faith, its gross falsification of the correspondence which led to my appointment, and the utter futility of the miserable sophistries by which it attempts to justify its conduct. If I have erred in this respect, I doubt not that you will find sufficient excuse for the error in the peculiarity of my position, unprecedented, I believe, in our diplomatic annals; the absence of all instructions in a contingency so unlooked for; and the feeling of self abnegation which has prompted me rather to subject myself to the imputation of a want of proper firmness and energy, than to take a course which could scarcely have failed to close the door upon all subsequent attempts at negotiation, and render war inevitable.

Apart, indeed, from your instructions, two other considerations would have operated to restrain me from replying to the note of Mr. Peña y Peña in stronger terms—the conviction that it was dictated rather by the fears than the feelings of the existing government, and the relative situation of the two countries—which would have rendered the language of menace and recrimination unbecoming.

You will observe that I have signified to this government my intention to proceed in a few days to Jalapa, there to await your final instructions. I have not decided upon this course without due deliberation, and I hope that it will meet with your approbation. My reasons were, first, to let this government understand, from my acts as well as my words, the serious consequences likely to result from a persistence in their present course; and, secondly, to avoid the possibility of any suspicion attaching to the legation, of interference of any kind in the struggle now going on.

With a people so jealous and suspicious, the most innocent movements or associations are liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented; and,

for that reason, I have, since my arrival, abstained from all intercourse with members of either of the contending parties. To enable you better to decide upon the course proper to be pursued, I will endeavor to give you, in as few words as possible, some idea of the present state of things here. I will not enter into detail; for their phases vary so much from day to day, and there are so many fractions and subdivisions of party, that, even if I possessed the necessary information, I could not communicate it to you within any ordinary limits. The two great divisions of party are those of the federalists and centralists; the former desiring the re establishment of the constitution of 1824, which, with the exception of the absence of religious toleration, was very nearly a counterpart of our own; the latter, as the name implies, advocating a consolidated government, as the only one adapted to the character of the people, and possessing sufficient strength and energy to preserve their nationality. But in these two great parties there are many shades of opinion—some of the federalists, for instance, being disposed to concede greater powers to the general government; while many of the centralists advocate an executive with unlimited powers, to be exercised either by a single person or a triumvirate; and some would even go so far as to abrogate all the forms of a republican government, and call for the establishment of a monarchy, in the person of some foreign prince, to be guaranteed by some leading European powers.

General Herrera, the actual President, was elected but a few months since, almost unanimously, and in accordance with the forms of the constitution; he came into power under auspices apparently the most flattering, and yet he will, in all probability, soon vacate the national palace, to be succeeded by some military chief, whose career, in turn, will be equally short lived.

The associations of General Herrera have heretofore generally been with the federal party, and the bias of his feelings in that direction was indicated by the selection from it of a majority of the members of his cabinet; but his failure to proclaim the federation, and to throw himself frankly upon that party, soon alienated the greater portion of it; while the remainder have given him but a feeble and reluctant support, and the whole force of the centralists, comprising nearly all the officers of the army, and almost the entire clergy, has been arrayed against him. He is universally admitted to be a man of probity, and the persons immediately about him are said to be free from any antecedent stain,

He has endeavored to conduct the government purely, and to correct some of the gross abuses which have existed in every branch of the public service; this has, of course, enlisted against him the host of office-holders throughout the country, and he has not shown that energy which was necessary to carry his good intentions into effect. The command of the division of reserve, destined to operate on the frontier of Texas, was intrusted to General Paredes, who, although he had, from causes of personal dissatisfaction, contributed to the overthrow of Santa Anna, has always been known as the advocate of centralism, or rather of a military despotism. Ordered to advance, several months since, to the line of the Rio del Norte, he has on various frivolous pretexts constantly disobeyed or evaded his instructions, and the government, although it cannot have been ignorant of his hostile intentions, has not dared to displace him. The force under his command is variously estimated at from

5,000 to 8,000 men, and is said to comprise the most efficient troops of the republic. The intention of the government to negotiate with the United States has been made the great theme of denunciation, and the opposition has been gradually maturing its plans of insurrection in every quarter. The arrival of an American minister was to be the signal of the outbreak; it occurred sooner than was anticipated, and consequently found them unprepared. Paredes did not issue his revolutionary proclamation until the 15th instant, and did not put his troops in march towards this place until some days after; a corresponding movement in the capital was expected to have taken place immediately on the receipt of Paredes's proclamation, and such undoubtedly was the intention of the revolutionists: but it seems that his "*plan*," as these insurrectionary programmes are here called, dissatisfied some of the leaders; they could not agree upon their course of operations, and the movement was postponed. This gave the government a breathing spell. In the meantime several of the most conspicuous revolutionists have been arrested and are now in prison; others, (and among them General Almonte,) against whom orders of arrest have been issued, are concealed; extraordinary powers for six months have been granted to the President by Congress; the city, which is now being fortified, has been declared in a state of siege, and the liberty of the press suspended. The government appears to be determined to defend itself obstinately, although the defection of the garrisons of San Juan de Ulloa and Vera Cruz, and of the force stationed at Jalapa, gives it but little reason to rely upon the fidelity of any portion of the army. What will be the result it would be idle for me to predict, but the general opinion here appears to be that the government must succumb.

Of one thing, however, I feel assured, that, after what has occurred, should any concession be made by our government, if any American minister present himself here without an unqualified retraction, by whatever party may succeed in the present contest, of Mr. Peña y Peña's note of the 20th instant, he will come on a bootless errand. The desire of our government to secure peace will be mistaken for timidity; the most extravagant pretensions will be made and insisted upon, until the Mexican people shall be convinced, by hostile demonstrations, that our differences must be settled promptly either by negotiation or the sword.

I shall be detained here a few days engaged in collecting the facts, and taking certain steps in relation to the disputed payment of instalments, which, when obtained and completed, will form the subject of a separate despatch.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña.

MEXICO, December 20, 1845.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt, on the 17th instant, of the note of your excellency, dated the 16th instant, in reply to that of the undersigned of the 15th instant. By this

note the undersigned is informed that "the delay which has occurred in his reception, and, consequently, in the reply to his former note of the 8th instant, announcing his arrival in this capital, and presenting a copy of his credentials, has proceeded exclusively from certain difficulties presented by the tenor of his credentials, compared with the proposal made by the United States, through their consul, to treat in a friendly manner respecting the affairs of Texas, by a person whom they should name to that effect; for which cause it has been necessary to submit the said credentials to the '*dictamen*' of the council of government."

Your excellency further says that you "will inform me, without the loss of a moment, of the result, assuring me, in the meanwhile, that the government of Mexico is ready to proceed in conformity with what it declared in its reply to the proposal made through the consul."

The undersigned has delayed until now replying to the note of your excellency, in the expectation that the promised information of the result of the application to the council of government would have made him acquainted with the precise character of the difficulties in relation to his credentials, to which allusion is made. Having been disappointed in this expectation, and presuming, from the silence of your excellency, that the question submitted is still pending before the council, the undersigned begs leave to call the attention of your excellency to what he supposes to be a misapprehension, on the part of your excellency, of the proposition made by the United States, through their consul, Mr. Black, on the 13th of October last, and its acceptance by the Mexican government, as signified by the letter of your excellency of the 15th of October to the consul. If the undersigned be mistaken in this, his error must be attributed to the very vague manner in which the difficulties respecting the tenor of his credentials are alluded to. By reference to the letter above mentioned of the consul, your excellency will find that Mr. Black was instructed, "in the absence of any diplomatic agent in Mexico, to ascertain from the Mexican government whether they would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments," and to say, "should the answer be in the affirmative, that such an envoy should be immediately despatched to Mexico." In this letter, not only was no suggestion made of a disposition to treat on the isolated question of Texas, but no reference whatever can be found in it to that question, excepting so far as it was comprised in the inquiry whether the Mexican government would receive an envoy intrusted with full power to adjust all questions in dispute between the two governments.

In reply to this letter, your excellency, under date of the 15th of October, said that, "although the Mexican government is deeply injured by the United States, through the acts committed by them in the department of Texas, belonging to this nation, my government is disposed to receive the commissioner of the United States who may come to this capital with full powers to settle the present dispute in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner; thus giving a new proof that, even in the midst of its injuries and of its firm determination to exact adequate reparation of them, it does not repel with contumely the measure of reason and peace to which it is invited by its adversary."

The undersigned will not permit himself to anticipate the possibility of any obstacle being interposed by the Mexican government to prevent the

renewal of its diplomatic relations with the United States, and the opening in due season, of negotiations for the termination of all existing difficulties; and he has not presented the foregoing extracts from the correspondence which led to his appointment to the distinguished trust with which he has been honored by the Executive of the United States, for the purpose of commencing an argument in relation to his credentials—which would now be premature, and which he hopes will not be, at any time, necessary—but simply for the purpose of rectifying an error into which your excellency has, as he is bound to believe, inadvertently fallen, in stating that the United States had proposed to treat on the subject of Texas.

The undersigned, in closing this note, begs leave to call the attention of your excellency to the omission of your excellency to address him by his proper title, which he presumes is accidental. Although the undersigned is not yet received by the Mexican government as the accredited agent of that of the United States; still, bearing, as he does, a commission from the President of the United States establishing his diplomatic character, that character should be recognised in any communication addressed to him. The undersigned trusts that he will not again have occasion to refer to this subject. He would not, perhaps, now do so, were it a question of mere etiquette; but, in the present disturbed state of the country, contingencies may possibly occur, during the pendency of the question submitted to the council of government, in which he might have occasion to reclaim the privileges and immunities which his commission confers upon him.

The undersigned tenders to your excellency, &c., &c.

JOHN SLIDELL.

His Excellency MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA,
Minister of Foreign Relations.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Slidell.

PALACE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT,
Mexico, December 20, 1845.

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations and government of the Mexican republic, had the honor to receive the note which Mr. John Slidell was pleased to address to him on the 8th instant, making known his arrival at this capital, in the character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near the government of the undersigned, and requesting that a time and a place should be appointed for his admission to present his credentials, of which he was pleased to send copies enclosed.

The undersigned, having submitted the whole to his excellency the President of the republic, and having also considered attentively the note addressed to him by the Secretary of State of the United States, relative to the mission of Mr. Slidell, regrets to inform him that, although the supreme government of the republic is animated by the pacific and conciliatory intentions which the undersigned manifested to the consul of

the United States in his confidential note of the 14th of October last, it does not conceive that, in order to fulfil the object proposed by the said consul, in the name of the American government, and accepted by the undersigned, it should admit his excellency Mr. Slidell in the character with which he is invested, of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary residing in the republic.

In order to place this refusal upon its proper grounds, the undersigned will briefly communicate to Mr. Slidell the reasons by which his excellency the President is guided.

The proposition in question emanated spontaneously from the government of the United States, and the Mexican government accepted it, in order to give a new proof, that in the midst of its grievances, and its firm decision to exact adequate reparation, it did not repel or condemn the measure of reason and peace to which it was invited: so that this proposition, as well as its acceptance, rested upon the precise and definite understanding that the commissioner should be *ad hoc*—that is to say, commissioned to settle, in a peaceful and honorable manner, the questions relative to Texas. This has not been done, as Mr. Slidell does not come invested with that character, but with the absolute and general functions of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to reside in this quality, near the Mexican government.

If his excellency Mr. Slidell be admitted in this character, which differs substantially from that proposed for his mission on the part of the United States, and accepted by the government of the undersigned, there would be reason to believe that thenceforth the relations between the two republics were open and frank, which could not be the case until the questions which have led to the present interruption of those relations should have been settled in a manner peaceful, but at the same time honorable to Mexico.

Although it be true, that in the credential letter brought by his excellency Mr. Slidell, it is stated that he is informed of the desire of the President of the United States to *restore*, cultivate, and strengthen friendship and good correspondence between the two countries, it is also no less true that in this clause the single word *restore* is by no means sufficient to give to Mr. Slidell the special character of commissioner, or plenipotentiary *ad hoc*; to make propositions as to the affairs of Texas, calculated to establish peace firmly, and to arrest the evils of war by means of an adequate agreement. Mr. Slidell is too enlightened not himself to see that the powers of such a plenipotentiary ought to refer, and be adequate, and directed definitely to the business for which he is appointed; and that he is very far from possessing these requisites, in virtue of the character in which he appears, of an absolute and general minister, of an ordinary plenipotentiary, to reside near the Mexican government.

The admission of such a minister should be, as the undersigned has already said, preceded by the agreement which the United States proposes to enter into for the establishment of peace and good correspondence with Mexico, interrupted by the occurrences of Texas—this point being, from its very nature, necessary to be attained before any other; and until it shall have been entirely and peacefully settled, not even an appointment should be made of a resident minister by either of the two governments.

The supreme government of Mexico, therefore, cannot admit his excellency Mr. Slidell to the exercise of the functions of the mission con-

ferred on him by the United States government. But as the sentiments expressed by the undersigned to the consul, in his above mentioned communication of the 14th of October last, are in no wise changed, he now repeats them; adding, that he will have the utmost pleasure in treating with Mr. Slidell, so soon as he shall have presented credentials authorizing him expressly and exclusively to settle the questions which have disturbed the harmony and good understanding between the two republics, and which will bring on war between them unless such settlement be effected in a satisfactory manner, to which the proposition from the government of the United States related, and under the express understanding of which that proposition was accepted by the Mexican government. Until this be done, Mr. Slidell cannot be admitted in the character with which he appears invested, as the honor, the dignity, and the interests of the Mexican republic would thereby be placed in jeopardy.

The undersigned takes the liberty to adjoin to the present note his answer to that of the Secretary of State of the United States, presented to him by Mr. John Slidell; to whom he has the honor at the same time to present the assurances of his very distinguished consideration.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

To his Excellency JOHN SLIDELL, &c., &c., &c.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Peña y Peña.

MEXICO, December 24, 1845.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, had the honor to receive, on the evening of Sunday the 21st instant, the communication of Mr. Peña y Peña, dated on the preceding day. The undersigned will abstain from the full expression of the feelings of astonishment and dissatisfaction which its perusal has so naturally excited, fearful that, if he did not do so, he might overstep the bounds which courtesy and the usages of diplomatic intercourse prescribe, in addressing a person occupying the distinguished position of Mr. Peña y Peña; but he should be recreant alike to the character, dignity, and interests of the government which he has the honor to represent, were he not to point out to your excellency, and through him to the people of the United States and of Mexico, the misstatements (and he begs to be understood that he uses this word in no invidious sense) which the communication of your excellency contains of the correspondence which induced the appointment of the undersigned, refute the reasoning by which Mr. Peña y Peña attempts to sustain the refusal of the Mexican government to receive him; and apprise him of the very grave consequences to which a persistence in that refusal will probably lead.

In performing this ungrateful duty, the undersigned will sedulously endeavor to avoid every expression that could, by possibility, offend the just sensibilities of the Mexican government; but this feeling, sincerely entertained, would degenerate into culpable weakness, were he to withhold any fact or suppress any argument necessary to the faithful discharge of the task which has been imposed upon him—that of vindicating the strict

correctness of the course pursued by his government, and demonstrating the glaring impropriety of that which the Mexican government seems determined to pursue.

For this purpose, it will be necessary to make a brief reference to the difficulties which existed between the two countries, when, at the instance of your excellency, the consul of the United States, acting by authority of his government, addressed to your excellency, on the 13th of October last, a letter, the substance of which had been communicated orally to your excellency in a confidential interview two days previously. Diplomatic relations had been suspended by the recall of General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, in March last, and the subsequent withdrawal of the minister of the United States from Mexico.

Mexico considered herself aggrieved by the course which the United States had pursued in relation to Texas, and this feeling, it is true, was the immediate cause of the abrupt termination of all diplomatic relations; but the United States, on their part, had causes of complaint, better founded and more serious, arising out of the claims of its citizens on Mexico.

It is not the purpose of the undersigned to trace the history of these claims, and the outrages from which they sprung. The annals of no civilized nation present, in so short a period of time, so many wanton attacks upon the rights of persons and property as have been endured by citizens of the United States from the Mexican authorities—attacks that would never have been tolerated from any other nation than a neighboring and sister republic. They were the subject of earnest, repeated, and unavailing remonstrance, during a long series of years, until at last, on the 11th of April, 1839, a convention was concluded for their adjustment. As, by the provisions of that convention, the board of commissioners organized for the liquidation of the claims was obliged to terminate its duties within eighteen months, and as much of that time was lost in preliminary discussions, it only acted finally upon a small portion of the claims, the amount awarded upon which amounted to \$2,026,139, (two millions twenty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-nine dollars;) claims were examined and awarded by the American commissioners, amounting to \$228,627, (nine hundred and twenty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-seven dollars,) upon which the umpire refused to decide, alleging that his authority had expired, while others, to the amount of \$3,336,837, (three millions three hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven dollars,) remained altogether unacted upon, because they had been submitted too late for the decision of the board. In relation to the claims which had been submitted to the board of commissioners, but were not acted on for want of time, amounting to \$4,265,464, (four millions two hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and sixty-four dollars,) a convention was signed in this capital on the 20th of November, 1843, by Mr. Waddy Thompson, on the part of the United States, and Messrs. Bocanegra and Trigueros, on that of Mexico, which was ratified by the Senate of the United States, with two amendments manifestly reasonable and necessary. Upon a reference of these amendments to the government of Mexico, it interposed evasions, difficulties, and delays of every kind, and has never yet decided whether it would accede to them or not, although the subject has been repeatedly pressed by the ministers of the United States. Subsequently, additional claims have been presented to the Department of State, exceeding in amount \$2,200,000, (two millions two hundred thor-

sand dollars,) showing in all the enormous aggregate of \$8,491,603; (eight millions four hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred and three dollars.) But what has been the fate even of those claimants against the government of Mexico, whose debt has been fully liquidated, recognised by Mexico, and its payment guarantied by the most solemn treaty stipulations? The Mexican government finding it inconvenient to pay the amount awarded, either in money or in an issue of treasury notes, according to the terms of the convention, a new convention was concluded on the 30th of January, 1843, between the two governments, to relieve that of Mexico from this embarrassment. By its terms, the interest due on the whole amount awarded was ordered to be paid on the 30th April, 1843, and the principal, with the accruing interest, was made payable in five years, in equal instalments, every three months. Under this new agreement, made to favor Mexico, the claimants have only received the interest up to the 30th April, 1843, and three of the twenty instalments.

The undersigned has not made this concise summary of the injuries inflicted upon American citizens during a long series of years, coeval indeed with the existence of the Mexican republic, reparation for which has been so unjustly delayed, for the purpose of recrimination, or to revive those angry feelings which it was the object of his mission to assuage, and, if possible, by friendly and frank negotiation, to bury in the most profound oblivion; but simply to prove, that if the proposition made by his government, through its consul, for the renewal of diplomatic relations, presented any ambiguity, (which, he will proceed to show, does not exist,) it could not, by any fair rule of construction, bear the interpretation which your excellency has given to it. The United States have never yet, in the course of their history, failed to vindicate, and successfully; too, against the most powerful nations of the earth, the rights of their injured citizens. If such has been their course in their infancy, and when comparatively feeble, it cannot be presumed that they will deviate from it now.

Mr. Peña y Peña says, that, having communicated to his excellency the President of the republic the note of the undersigned, of the 8th instant, with a copy of his credentials, and the letter of the Secretary of State of the United States relative to his mission, he regrets to inform the undersigned, that although the supreme government of the republic continues to entertain the same pacific and conciliatory intentions which your excellency manifested to the consul of the United States in his confidential note of 14th October last, it does not think that, to accomplish the object which was proposed by the said consul, in the name of the American government, and which was accepted by Mr. Peña y Peña, it is in the situation (*esté en el caso*) to admit the undersigned in the character with which he comes invested, of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary resident in the republic, and that, to sustain this refusal, Mr. Peña y Peña will briefly expose to the undersigned the reasons which have governed his excellency the President. Your excellency then proceeds to say that the proposition in question was spontaneously made by the government of the United States, and accepted by that of Mexico, to give a new proof that even in the midst of its injuries, and of its firm determination to exact adequate reparation for them, it neither repelled nor undervalued the measure of reason and peace to which it was invited, so that the proposition, as well as its acceptance, turned upon the precise and positive supposition that the commissioner should be *ad hoc*; that is to

say, to arrange in a peaceful and decorous manner the questions of Texas. This has not been done, since the undersigned does not come in that capacity, but in the absolute and general capacity of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to reside in that quality near the Mexican government. That if the undersigned be admitted in this character, which differs essentially from that which was proposed for his mission on the part of the United States, and which was accepted by the Mexican government, it would give room to believe that the relations of the two republics became at once open and free; which could not take place, without the questions, which had brought about the state of interruption which now exists, were previously terminated peaceably, but in a decorous manner for Mexico.

If your excellency had not himself conducted the preliminary and informal negotiation with the consul of the United States, of which the preceding version is given by him; if the letter of the consul had not been addressed to, and answered by, your excellency, the undersigned would be constrained to believe that your excellency had derived his knowledge of it from some unauthentic source. But, as this is not the case, the undersigned trusts that your excellency will pardon him if he suggests the doubt whether your excellency—constantly occupied, as he must for some time past have been, by the disturbed state of the internal affairs of the republic—has reperused the letter of the consul of October 13, and the answer of your excellency of October 15, with that scrupulous attention which the gravity of the case demanded; and whether the lapse of time has not left on the mind of your excellency but a vague and incorrect impression of what really occurred. Another solution, however, of this difficulty suggests itself to the undersigned, and he shall be most happy to find that it is the correct one. Your excellency refers to his answer to the consul as being dated on the 14th October, while the letter of your excellency, now in possession of the consul, is dated on the 15th October, as the undersigned has had occasion to verify by personal inspection; and he repeats, that he will learn with the greatest satisfaction that his present peculiar and most embarrassing position is the result of unintentional error on the part of the Mexican government.

The undersigned will now proceed, by precise and literal quotation from the letter of the consul, of October 13, to show, in the most conclusive manner, that the government of the United States proposed to send to Mexico an *envoy intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two powers*; and that the Mexican government, through your excellency, in the letter of October 15, declared itself *disposed to receive the commissioner of the United States, who might come to this capital with full powers to settle those disputes in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner*. The consul, in his letter of October 13, said that in a confidential interview with your excellency, which took place on the 11th October, he had the honor to inform your excellency that he (the consul) had received a communication from the Secretary of State of the United States; and having, in that interview, made known to your excellency the substance of said communication, your excellency, having heard and considered with due attention the statement read from the said communication, stated that, as the diplomatic relations between the two governments had been, and still were, suspended, the interview should have no other character than that of a confidential meeting; to which he (the

consul) assented, considering it only in that light. That your excellency then requested that he (the consul) might, in the same confidential manner, communicate in writing what had thus been made known verbally; that, in conformity with that request, he transcribed that part of the communication of the Secretary of State of the United States, which was in the following words: "At the time of the suspension of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, General Almonte was assured of the desire felt by the President to adjust amicably every cause of complaint between the governments, and to cultivate the kindest and most friendly relations between the sister republics. He still continues to be animated by the same sentiments. He desires that all existing differences should be terminated amicably by negotiation, and not by the sword. Actuated by these sentiments, the President has directed me to instruct you, in the absence of any diplomatic agent in Mexico, to ascertain from the Mexican government whether they would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments. Should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy will be immediately despatched to Mexico."

Your excellency, under date of October 15, in reply to the consul, said: "I have informed my government of the private conference which took place between you and myself on the 11th instant, and have submitted to it the confidential letter which you, in consequence of, and agreeably to, what was then said, addressed to me yesterday. In answer, I have to say to you, that although the Mexican nation is deeply injured by the United States, through the acts committed by them in the department of Texas, belonging to this nation, my government is disposed to receive the commissioner of the United States, who may come to this capital with full powers to settle the present dispute in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner; thus giving a new proof, that, even in the midst of its injuries, and of its firm determination to exact adequate reparation of them, it does not repel nor undervalue the measure of reason and peace to which it is invited by its adversary."

"As my government believes this invitation to be made in good faith, and with the real desire that it may lead to a favorable conclusion, it also hopes that the commissioner will be a person endowed with the qualities proper for the attainment of this end; that his dignity, prudence, and moderation, and the discreteness and reasonableness of his proposals, will contribute to calm, as much as possible, the just irritation of the Mexicans; and, in fine, that the conduct of the commissioner may be such as to persuade them that they may obtain satisfaction for their injuries through the means of reason and peace, and without being obliged to resort to those of arms and force."

"What my government requires above all things is, that the mission of the commissioner of the United States should appear to be always absolutely frank, and free from every sign of menace or coercion; and thus, Mr. consul, while making known to your government the disposition on the part of that of Mexico to receive the commissioner, you should impress upon it, as indispensable, the recall of the whole naval force now lying in sight of our port of Vera Cruz. Its presence would degrade Mexico while she is receiving the commissioner, and would justly subject the United States to the imputation of contradicting, by acts, the vehement desire of conciliation, peace, and friendship, which is professed and asserted by words."

I have made known to you, Mr. consul, with the brevity which you desired, the disposition of my government; and, in so doing, I have the satisfaction to assure you of my consideration and esteem for you personally."

The undersigned has transcribed the letter of your excellency at length and verbatim, on account of the discrepancy of dates, to which he has before adverted, in order that your excellency may have an opportunity of comparing it with the copy on the files of his office. Argument and illustration would be superfluous to show that the offer of the United States was accepted by your excellency, without any other condition or restriction than that the whole naval force, then lying in sight of Vera Cruz, should be recalled. That condition was promptly complied with, and no ship of-war of the United States has since appeared at Vera Cruz, excepting those which have conveyed thither the undersigned and the secretary of his legation. Nor is it the intention of his government that any should appear at Vera Cruz, or any other port of the republic on the gulf of Mexico, excepting such only as may be necessary for the conveyance of despatches.

The undersigned has said that no other condition or restriction was placed by Mr. Peña y Peña upon the acceptance of the proposition made through the consul, than that of the withdrawal of the naval force of the United States from Vera Cruz, because he will not do your excellency the injustice to suppose that any reliance is placed by your excellency on the mere verbal distinction between the terms envoy and commissioner, when the proposition of the United States, and the acceptance of your excellency, alike contemplated the appointment of a person intrusted with full powers to settle the questions in dispute. Indeed, your excellency admits that the title of the diplomatic agent is of no importance, by using the words commissioner and plenipotentiary *ad hoc*, as convertible terms.

Your excellency repeatedly and expressly admits that the Mexican government accepted the proposition of the United States, made through its consul, to send an envoy to Mexico. That proposition was frank, simple, and unambiguous in its terms. If your excellency, acting as the organ of the Mexican government, intended to qualify or restrict in any degree the acceptance of the proposition, such intention should have been manifested in terms not to be misunderstood; and the undersigned unhesitatingly rejects a supposition, which would be inconsistent with the high respect which he entertains for Mr. Peña y Peña, that your excellency did not intend to respond to the proposition in a corresponding spirit of frankness and good faith.

The answer of your excellency to the consul having been forwarded by him, the President of the United States promptly complied with the assurance which had been given that an envoy would be sent to Mexico with full power to adjust all questions in dispute, by the appointment of the undersigned, thus acting in accordance with the friendly feeling which prompted the government of the United States spontaneously (as your excellency correctly observes) to make peaceful overtures to the Mexican government; for the consul, in submitting the proposition to your excellency, said, in conformity with his instructions, that "if the President of the United States had been disposed to stand upon a mere question of etiquette, he would have waited until the Mexican government, which had suspended the diplomatic relations between the two

countries, should have asked that they might be restored; but his desire is so strong to terminate the present unfortunate state of our relations with this republic, that he has even consented to waive all ceremony and take the initiative."

The appointment of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, the highest grade of diplomatic agent ever employed by the government of the undersigned, afforded renewed proof, if any such proof could have been necessary, of the sincere desire of the President of the United States to terminate the present unfortunate state of their relations with Mexico. What will be his surprise when he is informed that this additional manifestation of his friendly feeling, invited by your excellency, has been rejected by the Mexican government with contumely? for, notwithstanding the protestations of peace and good-will with which the rejection of the undersigned is accompanied, he must be excused if he look to the acts rather than the words of the Mexican government as the true exponents of its feelings.

There remains another argument on which Mr. de la Peña y Peña bases the refusal to receive the undersigned, which will be briefly noticed. Your excellency says that although it is true that, in the letter of credence of the undersigned, it is said that he is informed of the desire which the President of the United States has to *re-establish*, cultivate, and strengthen the friendship and good correspondence of the two countries, yet neither that clause, and still less the single word *re establish*, is sufficient to give to the undersigned the special character of commissioner, or, what is equivalent, (*ó bien sea*,) of plenipotentiary *ad hoc*, to make propositions on the affairs of Texas, capable of establishing peace and avoiding the evils of war, by means of a competent arrangement. Your excellency is pleased to say, that it will not escape the discernment (*ilustracion*) of the undersigned that the powers of such a plenipotentiary should be relative, adequate, and confined by their terms to the business for which he is nominated, and that the nomination which has been made in his person, conferring upon him the character of a full and general minister of an ordinary plenipotentiary, to reside near the Mexican government, is very far from offering those qualities. The undersigned is free to confess that your excellency has paid an unmerited compliment to his discernment in supposing that this distinction could not have escaped him; for, by the very terms of his credentials, he is not merely an ordinary plenipotentiary, but an envoy extraordinary; and, as such, he is intrusted with full powers to adjust *all* the questions in dispute between the two governments; and, as a necessary consequence, the special question of Texas.

It is not usual for a minister to exhibit his powers until he has been accredited; and, even then, they are not called for until a treaty is either to be made or concluded, or a particular affair of importance negotiated. Still, had your excellency thought proper to intimate a wish to be informed on this subject, the undersigned would not have hesitated to furnish him with a copy of his powers, by which your excellency would have perceived that the undersigned is, in due form, invested with full and all manner of power and authority, for and in the name of the United States, to treat with the Mexican republic of and concerning limits and boundaries between the United States of America and the Mexican republic, and of all matters and subjects connected therewith, and which may be inte-

resting to the two nations, and to conclude and sign a treaty or convention touching the premises.

Your excellency says the supreme government of the republic cannot admit the undersigned to the exercise of the mission which has been conferred upon him by that of the United States; but, as it has not in any degree changed the sentiments which your excellency manifested to the consul, in his communication of the 14th of October last, he now repeats them, adding that he will have the greatest pleasure in treating with the undersigned, so soon as he shall present the credentials which would authorize him expressly and solely to settle the questions which have disturbed the harmony and good intelligence of the two republics, and which will lead them to war if they be not satisfactorily arranged; which settlement was the object of the proposition of the government of the United States, and was the express condition of the Mexican government in accepting it; without it, the undersigned cannot be received in the capacity in which he presents himself, since it would compromise the honor, dignity, and interests of the Mexican republic. The undersigned concurs fully with your excellency in the opinion expressed by him, that the questions which have disturbed the harmony and good intelligence of the two republics will lead them to war, if they be not satisfactorily arranged. If this, unfortunately, should be the result, the fault will not be with the United States; the sole responsibility of such a calamity, with all its consequences, must rest with the Mexican republic.

The undersigned would call the attention of your excellency to the strange discrepancy between the sentiments expressed in the clause of his letter last cited, and the conclusion at which he arrives, that the reception of the undersigned would compromise the honor, dignity, and interests of the Mexican republic. Your excellency says that he will have the greatest pleasure in treating with the undersigned, so soon as the undersigned shall present credentials which would authorize him expressly and solely to settle the questions which have disturbed the harmony and good intelligence of the two republics. What are these questions? The grievances alleged by both governments; and these the undersigned is fully empowered to adjust. Does the Mexican government, after having formally accepted the proposition of the United States, arrogate to itself the right of dictating not only the rank and title which their diplomatic agent shall bear, but the precise form of the credentials which he shall be permitted to present, and to trace out, in advance, the order in which the negotiations are to be conducted? The undersigned, with every disposition to put the most favorable construction on the language of your excellency, cannot but consider it as an absolute and unqualified repudiation of all diplomatic intercourse between the two governments. He fears that the Mexican government does not properly appreciate the friendly overtures of the United States, who, although anxious to preserve peace, are still prepared for war.

Had the undersigned been accredited by the Mexican government, it would have been free to choose the subjects upon which it would negotiate, subject, of course, to the discretion of the undersigned, controlled by his instructions, to treat upon the isolated question of Texas; and, should it have been found impossible to agree upon a basis of negotiation, his mission, which was not intended to be one of mere ceremony, would probably soon have terminated, leaving the relations of the two countries in the state in which the undersigned found them. If the undersigned

had been admitted to the honor of presenting his credentials to his excellency the President of the republic, he was instructed to assure his excellency of the earnest desire which the authorities and people of the United States entertain to restore those ancient relations of peace and good will which formerly existed between the governments and citizens of the two republics. Circumstances have of late estranged the sympathies of the Mexican people, which had been secured towards their brethren of the north by the early and decided stand which the United States had taken and maintained in favor of the independence of the Spanish American republics on this continent. The great object of the mission of the undersigned was to endeavor, by the removal of all mutual causes of complaint for the past, and of distrust for the future, to revive, confirm, and, if possible, to strengthen those sympathies. The interests of Mexico and of the United States are, if well understood, identical, and the most ardent wish of the latter has been to see Mexico elevated, under a free, stable, and republican government, to a distinguished rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the views of the government of the undersigned, and such was the spirit in which he was directed to act. As for the undersigned, while it was made his duty to manifest this feeling in all his official relations with the government of Mexico, it would have been to him, individually, a source of great gratification to have contributed, by every means in his power, to the restoration of those sentiments of cordial friendship which should characterize the intercourse of neighboring and sister republics.

The undersigned is not to have the opportunity of carrying these intentions into effect. Mexico rejects the olive branch which has been so frankly extended to her, and it is not the province of the undersigned to criticise the motives and comment upon the influences, foreign or domestic, which have induced her to pursue this course, or to speculate upon the consequences to which it may lead. For a contingency so unexpected and unprecedented, no foresight could have provided; and the undersigned consequently finds himself without instructions to guide him in his very delicate and singular position. He shrinks from taking upon himself the fearful responsibility of acting in a matter that involves interests so momentous, and, as no motive can exist for protracting his stay in this capital, he will proceed in a few days to Jalapa, where he can communicate more speedily with his government, and there await its final instructions.

The undersigned received with the communication of your excellency a sealed letter, directed to the Secretary of State of the United States, with a request that it might be forwarded to its address. He regrets that he cannot comply with this request. The letter from the Secretary of State to your excellency, of which the undersigned was the bearer, was unsealed, and he cannot consent to be made the medium of conveying to his government any official document from that of Mexico while he is ignorant of its contents. If Mr. Peña y Peña will favor the undersigned with a copy of his letter to the Secretary of State, the undersigned will be happy to forward the original with his first despatches.

He takes this occasion to tender to his excellency D. Manuel de la Peña y Peña the renewed assurances of his distinguished consideration.

JOHN SLIDELL.

His Excellency MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA,

Minister of Foreign Relations and Government.

No. 8.

Mr. Sidel to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, January 14, 1846.

Lieutenant White, of the Somers, arrived here on the 12th instant with your despatches of the 17th ultimo. I had the honor of addressing you on the 27th and 29th ultimo by the Porpoise. I forward with this duplicate of my despatch of 10th instant, relating to the disputed payment of instalments of indemnity due 30th April and 30th July, 1844.

The contest between the military and the government terminated as I had expected. On the night of the 29th December the greater portion of the troops in garrison here "*pronounced*" in favor of the revolutionists; one regiment only, that stationed in the palace, preserved a semblance of fidelity, but it was well known that many of its officers were disaffected, and on the following day General Herrera, satisfied that he could make no effectual resistance, resigned the Presidency. The ringing of bells and firing of cannon announced the success of the revolutionists and the overthrow of the government. When it is recollected that the civil authorities throughout the country, with the single exception of St. Luis de Potosi, were opposed to the movement of Paredes; that most of them had made loud protestations of their intention to resist it at all hazards; that both branches of Congress had unanimously declared their abhorrence of his treachery, and denounced his "*plan*" as an undisguised military despotism; and that, after all this war of manifestoes and resolutions, not a shot has been fired in defence of constitutional government, you may form some idea

On the resignation of Herrera, General Valencia, one of the revolutionists, who, as president of the council of government, by the then existing constitution, became President *ad interim* of the republic, assumed to act in that capacity. He invited Paredes to a conference in the city, which was declined. In the meantime the troops here, whom he had instigated to revolt, declared their preference for Paredes. He, then, with Almonte, Tornel, and other leaders of the revolution, proceeded to the headquarters of Paredes, where they were given by him to understand that, having the army in his favor, he intended to organize a new government in his own way.

On the 2d January Paredes entered the capital with his troops, those already stationed here joining his triumphal march. On the same day, a junta of military officers, convened by him, met and established a plan of provisional government, to be administered by a President elected by a body composed of two notables from each department. These notables, nominated by Paredes, met on the following evening, and, as you may readily imagine, unanimously elected him President, and, on the 4th instant, he took the oath of office. By the plan of the junta of officers, a constituent Congress was to be convened, with unlimited powers, for the establishment of a new government, the mode of election to be announced within eight days. Before the expiration of the eight days, the President issued a proclamation, stating that the details of the organization of the

constituent Congress could not be prepared within the limited period, but that they would be promulgated as soon as possible. The proclamation is filled with protestations of liberal principles, and of the determination of its author to retire from public affairs so soon as the organization of the new government will permit him to do so. The papers which I have sent you present the details, into which I do not consider it necessary to enter, because no safe inference can be drawn, from any of the published declarations of Paredes, as to his real intentions. He had given the most earnest assurances of his fidelity to Herrera, and, after he raised the standard of revolt, had repeatedly, and in the most solemn manner, declared his fixed intention not to occupy any place in the government; but all his movements indicate that his purpose, for several months past, has been to place himself at the head of affairs without control or limitation. He had successfully cajoled the leaders of the revolution into an opposite belief, and now finds himself strong enough, for the moment at least, to act without them. They looked upon him as an instrument, and find him a master. It is thought by many of the best informed persons here, that the revolution was gotten up chiefly by the friends of Santa Anna, who are still numerous and influential, and that, had they not been outwitted by Paredes, the way would soon have been prepared for his return from exile, and restoration to power.

Paredes has formed a cabinet composed of General Almonte, as Minister of War; Messrs. Castillo y Lanzas, of Foreign Relations; Parres, of Hacienda; and Becerra, of Justice, &c. With the exception of Almonte, they have not hitherto occupied any very prominent position in public affairs. Mr. Castillo y Lanzas was, some years since, chargé d'affaires at Washington. He is an intelligent and well educated gentleman, and were he permitted to exercise any control, would, as I have reason to know from free conversations with him at a time when he had no idea of being appointed to his present place, be decidedly favorable to an amicable adjustment of all questions pending between the two governments.

I will not hazard any conjecture as to the probable duration of the power of Paredes. In his recent movements he has manifested tact and energy. While exercising dictatorial power, he has abstained from all ostentatious display—he has not established himself in the National Palace, where the Presidents have always resided—he moves about unattended.

The civil authorities throughout the country have generally acquiesced in the new state of things, but they will be prepared to throw off the yoke, if they can secure the co-operation of a portion of the troops. Arista, who commands on the frontier of Texas, is the only general now openly opposed to Paredes. His command has been transferred to General de la Vega. But the greatest difficulty with which Paredes has to contend is in the state of the finances. Indeed, I do not see where means can possibly be found to carry on the government. The annual expense of the army alone exceeds twenty-one millions of dollars, while the entire net revenue is not more than ten to twelve millions. The amount of the public debt cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision; but it does not fall much, if at all, short of one hundred and fifty millions. On a small portion of it partial payments of interest are occasionally made; for the balance no provision whatever is thought of. The best index of the state of Mexi-

can credit is the price of a class of securities, on which the interest, at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, had until recently been paid with some degree of regularity, and for which a part of the import duties, supposed to be sufficient, had been specially hypothecated. They are now nominally at 25 per cent., but if offered in any quantity would not command 20 cents on the dollar. While there is a prospect of war with the United States, no capitalist will loan money at any rate, however onerous. Every branch of the revenue is already pledged in advance. The troops must be paid or they will revolt, and any attempt to reduce the military establishment would probably be attended with the same result. * * * *

You will be surprised at the prolongation of my stay in the capital. During the progress of the revolution the roads were infested by robbers, and scarcely a diligence passed on that to Vera Cruz without being plundered: Immediately after the entry of Paredes, I applied verbally, through our consul, to the commandant general for an escort to Jalapa, but was informed that there were no disposable troops on the road. Mr. Castillo took possession of the department of foreign affairs on the 6th instant, when Mr. Black, at my request, addressed him a written application for an escort. Mr. Castillo, on the 8th instant, replied that public order not having been yet completely restored, the force necessary for the escort could not be spared, but that it would be given when the state of political affairs would permit it, of which the consul should have timely notice. I send copies of these notes, (Nos. 1 and 2.) Nothing has since been heard on this subject. * * * *

I shall not be surprised to receive, in a day or two, notice of the escort being at my disposition. When received, I shall proceed, without delay, to Jalapa. If there be any disposition on the part of those now in power to reconsider the decision of their predecessors, I feel satisfied that my absence from the capital will tend rather to accelerate than to retard its manifestation. I learn from good authority that my notes to Mr. Peña y Peña have been submitted to the council of government, but have not yet been considered.

I send the letter of Mr. Peña y Peña, addressed to you, which, being sealed; I declined forwarding until furnished with a copy. I have taken the liberty of breaking the seal. You will find the letter to be a brief summary of his note to me of 20th December.

P.S.—15th January. Mr. Black has received from Mr. Castillo notice that an escort will be furnished when required by me. I shall leave on the 17th instant, accompanied by Mr. Parrott.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

Mr. Peña y Peña to Mr. Buchanan.

NATIONAL PALACE,
Mexico, December 20, 1845.

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations of the Mexican republic, has the honor, in answer to the note which the honorable Secretary of State of the United States did him the honor to address to him, under date of the 10th of November last, making known to him the diplomatic mission with which his excellency the President of the said States had

intrusted Mr. John Slidell, near the government of this republic, to say, that, as the proposition made to this government by the American consul on the 13th. of October last, that it should hear the propositions which the government of the United States might make for terminating the differences unhappily subsisting between the two republics, was accepted with the express condition that the person charged to make those propositions should come invested with powers *ad hoc* for that purpose; and, as those which have been conferred upon Mr. Slidell give him the character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to reside in the republic, he cannot be admitted by this government to perform his mission, inasmuch as, in the actual state of interruption of the relations between Mexico and the United States, it was necessary, before the reception of a minister of that class, that the questions which have arisen from the events in Texas should have been settled definitively, in a conciliatory and honorable manner: to this object, solely and exclusively, should the mission of Mr. Slidell have been directed; and under this supposition, as distinctly stated, the government of the undersigned was ready to receive him.

In the note this day addressed to that gentleman, are explained the reasons on which this refusal is based; and it is also declared that no variation has taken place in the sentiments expressed by the undersigned to the consul of the United States in his confidential note of the 14th of October last; on the contrary, those sentiments are repeated; and he would have the utmost satisfaction in treating with Mr. Slidell, so soon as he should have presented credentials which authorize him exclusively to settle the differences existing between the two countries. If this object could be attained, there would be no inconvenience then in receiving him in the character of minister resident near the government of the undersigned.

In addressing the present note to the Secretary of State of the United States, the undersigned, having no doubt that the just motives which determine his excellency the President, not to receive Mr. Slidell in the character in which he presents himself, will be properly appreciated, seizes this occasion to offer the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN,
Secretary of State of the United States.

No. 9.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell.

[Extract.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 20, 1846.

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, your commission as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Mexican republic, under the appointment made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Your despatches Nos. 2 and 3, under date, respectively, the 30th No-

vember and 17th December, have been received ; and I shall await the arrival of others by the "Porpoise" with much solicitude. Should the Mexican government, by finally refusing to receive you, consummate the act of folly and bad faith of which they have afforded such strong indications, nothing will then remain for this government but to take the redress of the wrongs of its citizens into its own hands.

In the event of such a refusal, the course which you have determined to pursue is the proper one. You ought, in your own language, so to conduct yourself as to throw the whole odium of the failure of the negotiation upon the Mexican government ; point out, in the most temperate manner, the immediate consequences of so unheard of a violation of all the usages which govern the intercourse between civilized nations ; and declare your intention to remain in Mexico until you can receive instructions adapted to the exigencies of the case. This sojourn will afford you an honorable opportunity to watch the course of events, and avail yourself of any favorable circumstances which, in the meantime, may occur. Should a revolution have taken place before the 1st of January, the day appointed for the meeting of Congress, (an event which you deemed probable,) or should a change of ministry have been effected, which you considered almost certain, this delay will enable you to ascertain the views and wishes of the new government or administration. The desire of the President is, that you should conduct yourself with such wisdom and firmness in the crisis, that the voice of the American people shall be unanimous in favor of redressing the wrongs of our much injured and long suffering claimants.

It would seem to be the desire of the Mexican government to evade the redress of the real injuries of our citizens, by confining the negotiation to the adjustment of a pecuniary indemnity for its imaginary rights over Texas. This cannot be tolerated. The two subjects must proceed hand in hand ; they can never be separated. It is evidently with the view of thus limiting the negotiation that the Mexican authorities have been quibbling about the mere form of your credentials, without ever asking whether you had instructions and full powers to adjust the Texian boundary. The advice of the council of government seems to have been dictated by the same spirit. They do not advise the Mexican government to refuse to receive you ; but, assuming the fact that the government had agreed to receive a plenipotentiary to treat upon the subject of Texas alone, they infer that it is not bound to receive an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary without this limitation.

In the meantime, the President, in anticipation of the final refusal of the Mexican government to receive you, has ordered the army of Texas to advance and take position on the left bank of the Rio Grande ; and has directed that a strong fleet shall be immediately assembled in the gulf of Mexico. He will thus be prepared to act with vigor and promptitude the moment that Congress shall give him the authority.

This despatch will not be transmitted to you by the "Mississippi." That vessel will be detained at Pensacola for the purpose of conveying to you instructions, with the least possible delay, after we shall have heard from you by the "Porpoise," and of bringing you home, in case this shall become necessary.

No. 10.

Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Slidell.

[Extracts.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, January 28, 1846.

Your despatches, dated the 27th and 29th December last, (erroneously numbered 2 and 3, instead of 3 and 4,) were received at this department on the 23d instant.

After a careful and critical examination of their contents, the President entirely approves your conduct. The exposure, contained in your reply to the Mexican minister for foreign affairs, of the evasions and subterfuges of his government in excuse of their refusal to recognise you as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, is so complete as to leave nothing for me to add upon the subject. It is now, however, morally certain that the insurrection of Paredes has proved successful, and that a new administration of some kind or other at this moment controls that unfortunate country.

The question arises, therefore, what course you should pursue in this contingency. In my despatch of the 20th instant, I have already anticipated nearly all that it is necessary to say in answer to this question. The President is sincerely desirous to preserve peace with Mexico. Both inclination and policy dictate this course. Should the Mexican government, however, finally refuse to receive you, the cup of forbearance will then have been exhausted. Nothing can remain but to take the redress of the injuries to our citizens, and the insults to our government, into our own hands. In view of this serious alternative, every honorable effort should be made before a final rupture. You should wait patiently for a final decision on the question of your reception, unless it should be unreasonably protracted, or you should clearly discover that they are trifling with this government. It is impossible for any person not upon the spot and conversant with the motives and movements of the revolutionary government now most probably existing in Mexico, to give you precise instructions how long your forbearance ought to continue. Much must necessarily be left to your own discretion. In general terms, I may say that you should take care to act with such prudence and firmness that it may appear manifest to the people of the United States, and to the world, that a rupture could not be honorably avoided. After this, should the Mexican government finally refuse to receive you, then demand passports from the proper authority, and return to the United States. It will then become the duty of the President to submit the whole case to Congress, and call upon the nation to assert its just rights, and avenge its injured honor.

In conclusion, there is one portion of your despatch of the 27th ultimo on which I shall make a single remark. You seem to consider it indispensable, before the commencement of any negotiation with the Mexican government, that there should be an unqualified retraction of the note of Mr. Peña y Peña to you of the 20th ultimo. This might be a necessary preliminary, if there had been no change of government. But in the present probable condition of affairs, under a new and entirely distinct

government, and not merely a change of administration, such a retraction, however desirable, ought not to interpose an insuperable obstacle to negotiation.

No. 11.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Jalapa, February 6, 1846.

I reached this place on the 20th ultimo. Since my despatch of the 14th ultimo, nothing has occurred to indicate the course likely to be taken by the existing government as to my reception, but I think that it will mainly be controlled by the aspect of the Oregon question. Should our difficulties with Great Britain continue to present a prospect of war with that power, there will be but a very faint hope of a change of policy here.

I send you a copy of a communication of Mr. Peña y Peña to the council of government, made on the 11th December, inviting an expression of the opinion of the council on the subject of my recognition, and suggesting his reasons why it should be refused. This document presents in the most glaring light the bad faith of the late government; and, in connexion with the statement of Consul Black, accompanying my despatch of 17th December, shows in the most conclusive manner that, from the moment my arrival was announced, it had determined to avail itself of any pretence, however frivolous, to refuse a reception, in the hope that by thus depriving its opponents of their chief theme of reproach and agitation, the impending blow would be averted. Mr. Peña y Peña, after stating to the council substantially the same objections to my credentials as are embodied in his note to me of 20th December, gives, as an additional and conclusive reason for their insufficiency, the fact of my appointment not having been confirmed by the Senate.

The anxiously expected convocatoria or edict of Paredes, calling together the constituent congress, and establishing the mode of its election, was promulgated on the 27th ultimo. It is, perhaps, the most singular instrument of the kind that has ever appeared; but its tendency could easily have been anticipated, as it was known that its preparation was allotted to Lucas Alaman, who has long been the avowed advocate of monarchical principles. The electoral machinery is extremely complicated, and has evidently been so framed that its complexity might, to a certain extent, conceal the purpose which it is intended to effect. Different classes are to be represented, each class having a distinct constituency, with widely varying qualifications for the right of suffrage. The assembly has unlimited powers to form a constitution, which is to take effect without any appeal to the people or the departments. It is to consist of one hundred and sixty members, one hundred of whom are to be chosen by land-owners, merchants, manufacturers, proprietors of mines, and members of

certain professions. The remaining sixty members are to be chosen by the judiciary, administrative officers, the clergy, and the military. The constituent body will be extremely limited—the payment of a very high rate of direct contribution being required for the exercise of the right of suffrage; and still higher rates are established for the qualifications of the members of the assembly. It will give to Paredes the power of returning a very large majority of members, prepared to do anything which he may dictate. The congress is to meet four months from the date of the convocatoria—nine months are allowed to form the new constitution. During this interval of thirteen months he will of course continue to exercise uncontrolled power, unless, in the meantime, some discontented generals succeed in making a counter-revolution. This can only be avoided by punctual payment of the army, and by carefully abstaining from the concentration of any large force out of the capital.

Since the accession of Paredes, no payments have been made, excepting to the troops; none of the civil employés have received any part of their salaries; and, as I mentioned in a previous despatch, the expenses of the army alone greatly exceed the entire revenue of the country. How this financial difficulty can be overcome, is a problem not easily solved. It is generally understood that the current disbursements have been met by the voluntary contributions of the clergy; but this is a resource which must soon be exhausted. Loans from domestic or foreign capitalists, in the present state of affairs, are out of the question. The only expedient yet resorted to for the increase of the revenue, has been the permission to introduce raw cotton at the rate of ten dollars per quintal, payable in advance at the moment of receiving the permit. Much reliance had been placed upon this measure; but, by late letters from Mexico, I learn that permits had been taken out only for two thousand quintals.

By the plan of provisional government of the 3d of January, it was solemnly declared that it should be administered in conformity with existing laws; but an exception was made in favor of such measures as might be necessary "to preserve the integrity of the territory;" and, by the decree for the admission of cotton, all moneys received for the cotton licenses are to be devoted to this object. This clause (allowing the exercise of extraordinary powers for the preservation of the integrity of the territory) will be appealed to in justification of any proceedings, however despotic, which Paredes may find it expedient to adopt. The mask of liberal principles has indeed been already thrown off. An arbitrary edict issued by Santa Anna in 1839, abolishing the liberty of the press, was revived simultaneously with the promulgation of the convocatoria, and is evidently intended to silence all criticism of its provisions. Offending editors are to be sent, without trial, to the fortresses of San Juan de Ulloa and Acapulco. The feeling of the small portion of the population who have any opinions on political subjects, is almost universally opposed to the convocatoria; but as few are disposed to incur any risk in announcing or sustaining their principles, and there are no means of producing anything like concert of action, there is little chance of any resistance to the usurpation of Paredes, unless some of the troops should "*pronounce*" against him. This may well happen; for although the disaffection to Herrera was very general in the army, many of the officers were not well disposed towards Paredes. Some of the regiments where this feeling was supposed

to exist have been removed from the capital, and great dissatisfaction is said to have been manifested by them.

For some time past rumors have been rife of the establishment of a monarchy, in the person of a foreign prince. Such an idea is undoubtedly entertained by some of the clergy, and a few other persons of note in the city of Mexico; but it receives little countenance in the army, where almost every general indulges aspirations for the presidency, and is universally repudiated in the departments. Paredes unquestionably wishes to establish a despotic government; but it is equally certain that he intends to place himself at its head. His power is now established (for the time at least) throughout the country, Arista having surrendered his command; but the submission of the civil authorities generally is sullen and unwilling, and can only be maintained by military force. Yucatan is of course excepted from this remark. She has declared her absolute separation; and as she has heretofore successfully resisted all the force that Santa Anna could direct against her, with resources infinitely superior to any which the existing government can command, she cannot now fail to maintain her independence.

The minister of foreign affairs has acknowledged the reception of Mr. Black's communication, notifying the revocation of the powers of Mr. Emilio Voss. I send a copy of his note, No. 3.

P. S.—The mail which has just arrived brings intelligence that the department of Sinaloa has declared its independence, and that the garrison of Mazatlan has pronounced against Paredes. This is an important movement, as Mazatlan is one of the ports that contribute most largely to the revenue, its receipts being inferior only to those of Vera Cruz.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, GOVERNMENT, AND POLICE,
Mexico, December 11, 1846.

I have the honor to submit to the council, through the medium of your excellency, the documents relative to the appointment of a commissioner of the government of the United States of America for the peaceable settlement of the questions at issue between the two republics.

As you will please to observe to the council, the proposition to appoint such a commissioner came spontaneously from the American government, which made it through the medium of its consul in Mexico; and our government accepted it, with the declaration that it did so in order to give a new proof, that even in the midst of its grievances, and of its firm decision to exact adequate reparation, it neither repelled nor contemned the measure of reason and peace to which it was invited, so that the proposition, as well as the acceptance, rested upon the exact and definite understanding that the commissioner should be appointed *ad hoc*; that is to say, for the settlement of the questions of Texas in a pacific and honorable manner.

As the council will also see in the last official communications among the documents submitted, Mr. John Slidell has arrived in this capital as commissioner of the United States, but it does not appear that this gentleman has been appointed by his government as a minister instructed specially

to treat on the questions of Texas, but with the general and absolute attributes of an *envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary*, and that he is *to reside in that character near the Mexican government*, in the same manner and almost in the same words used in accrediting Mr. Wilson Shannon, as may be seen by reference to the document on that subject, herewith submitted.

From these facts naturally flow the following reflections:

First. The mission of this commissioner has degenerated substantially from the class proposed on the part of the United States, and accepted by our government.

Secondly. If this commissioner should be received simply in the character in which he appears, grounds would justly be afforded for the presumption that the relations between us and the United States remain free and open; a presumption which would be in reality most erroneous, and at the same time most injurious to the dignity and interests of Mexico.

Thirdly. Should he be admitted in the character in which he presents himself, however explicitly we might protest that he was received only for the purpose of hearing his peaceful propositions respecting the affairs of Texas, it would always appear to the whole world that he had been received as and had been a minister plenipotentiary residing near the Mexican republic; and it is evident that this fact might serve to confuse or to diminish the most clear and direct protests.

Fourthly. The government of Mexico neither could nor ought to refuse the invitation given to it on the part of the United States to hear and deliberate upon peaceful propositions respecting Texas. In adopting this course, which morality requires, prudence counsels, and the most learned and judicious publicists recommend, the government observed the principle which they lay down as just and proper: "As the evil of war is terrible, in the same proportion are nations called on to reserve to themselves the means of terminating it." It is therefore necessary that they should be able to send ministers to each other, *even in the midst of hostilities*, in order to make propositions for peace, or tending to diminish the fury of arms. * * * It may be stated as a general maxim, that the minister of an enemy ought always to be admitted and heard; that is to say, that war alone, and of itself, is not a sufficient reason for refusing to hear any proposition which an enemy may offer," &c. But if this doctrine be just and rational, so also it is just, that the fact of a nation's having assented to hear propositions of peace, made to it by its enemy, should not serve as a means of obscuring its rights, and silencing, in that way, the demands of its justice. Such would be the case if Mexico, after assenting to receive and hear a commissioner of the United States, who should come to make propositions of peace respecting the department of Texas, should admit a minister of that nation, absolute and general, a common plenipotentiary to reside near the Mexican republic.

Fifthly. It is true that in the communication addressed to our President by the President of the United States, it is declared that the commissioner is informed of the sincere desire of the latter to *restore*, cultivate, and strengthen friendship and good correspondence between the two countries; but it is clear that neither this clause, nor still less the single word *restore*, is sufficient to give to Mr. Slidell the special character of commissioner to make propositions respecting Texas, calculated to establish peace firmly, and to arrest the evils of war by a definitive settlement. The reason of

this is, that the full powers of such a minister should be adequate to the business for which he is appointed.

Sixthly. The settlement which the United States seek to effect in order to attain peace and good correspondence with Mexico, which have been suspended by the occurrences in Texas, is a point necessarily to be determined before any other whatever; and until that is terminated entirely and peacefully, it will be impossible to appoint and admit an American minister to establish his residence near the government of Mexico.

Seventhly. Moreover, the President of the United States cannot appoint ambassadors, nor any other public ministers, nor even consuls, except with the consent of the Senate. This is fixed by the second paragraph of the second section, article second of their national constitution. But, in the credentials exhibited by Mr. Slidell, this requisite, indispensable to give legality to his mission, does not appear.

Eighthly. Nor could that requisite have appeared, as Mr. Slidell was appointed by the President on the 10th of November last, and Congress did not assemble until the first Monday of the present month of December, agreeably to the second paragraph of the fourth section, article first of the same constitution.

Ninthly, and finally. It is a principle most salutary and natural that he who is about to treat with another has the right to assure himself by inquiries as to the person and the powers of the individual with whom he is to enter into negotiation. And this universal principle of jurisprudence extends also to affairs between nation and nation. Hence comes the necessity that every minister should present his credentials; and hence his examination and qualification by the government to which he presents himself.

From all these considerations the supreme government concludes that Mr. Slidell is not entitled to be admitted in the case in question as a commissioner of the government of the United States, with the object of ~~hearing his propositions~~, and settling upon them the affairs of Texas; that it will admit the commissioner whenever he may present himself in compliance with the conditions wanting in the credentials as above mentioned; and that this should be the answer given to him. The supreme government, however, desiring to fortify its judgment, in a case of so delicate a nature, by the opinion of its enlightened council, hopes that this body will, without delay, communicate what it considers proper to be done on the affair.

MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y PEÑA.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

MEXICO.

No. 12.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Jalapa, February 17, 1846.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, on this day, of your dispatch No. 5, dated 20th ultimo.

I send herewith duplicate of mine of 6th instant, which will place you in possession of the present state of affairs in Mexico. Intelligence has

since been received that the authorities of the departments of Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, Michoacan, and Queretaro, have protested, in strong terms, against the usurpation of Paredes, and, refusing to continue in the exercise of their functions, have dissolved. The government is evidently losing ground, and the disaffection, which is openly manifested in the northern departments is extending itself in every direction. The civil employes are still without pay; but, what is vastly more important, the stipend of the troops in the capital is now seven days in arrear, and there is not a dollar in the treasury. As the Mexican soldier supplies his own food, the failure to pay him regularly is a much more serious matter than in armies where a regular commissariat provides for his daily subsistence. Appearances justify the belief that Paredes will not be able to sustain himself until the meeting of the constituent Congress; that his government will perish from inanition, if from no other cause.

I may perhaps have stated too unqualifiedly my opinion, that if a despotism were established, Paredes intended to place himself at its head.

I send you a copy of the "Tiempo," a journal lately established; it is conducted by Lucas Alaman, who is reputed to be the most confidential adviser of Paredes. It contains the confession of faith of the monarchist party, and unreservedly advocates the calling of a foreign prince to the throne. This might be considered conclusive evidence of the views of Paredes, were it not for the existence of two other ministerial journals, which are strongly opposed to a monarchy, one of them, indeed, has decided federal tendencies.

I shall anxiously await your definite instructions by the "Mississippi." The advance of General Taylor's force to the left bank of the Rio del Norte, and the strengthening our squadron in the gulf, are wise measures, which may exercise a salutary influence upon the course of this government.

I have the honor, &c., JOHN SLIDELL.

No. 13.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Jalapa, March 1, 1846.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, on the 27th ultimo, of your despatch of the 28th January, and am highly gratified to learn that my conduct has been so fully approved by the President and by you.

In conformity with your instructions, I have addressed a note to the minister of foreign relations, resubmitting the question of my recognition for final decision. I send you a copy. I have not fixed, in my note, any precise term for an answer; but I have requested our consul at Mexico to hand the note, personally, to Mr. Castillo y Lanzas, and if he find him disposed to converse upon the subject, to say to him that I thought it more conciliatory and courteous, not to mention it in my official communication.

negotiation, but that, if a definite and favorable reply were not received by me on the 15th instant, I should then apply for my passports. This will allow an entire week for consultation and the preparation of the answer.

Since my despatch of 17th ultimo, an important change has occurred in the cabinet of Paredes. Almonte has resigned the Secretaryship of War; his letter of resignation does not assign the cause, but his friends say that it is on account of his disapprobation of the monarchical tendencies of Paredes.

My note will be presented at the most propitious moment that could have been selected. All attempts to effect a loan have completely failed. The suspicion of an intention to introduce a foreign monarch has tended very much to abate the clamor against the United States, and many now begin to look in that direction for support and protection against European interference.

My letters from Mexico speak confidently of my recognition; but there is no safety in reasoning from probabilities or analogies as to the course of public men in this country. If, however, I should now be received, I think that my prospects of successful negotiation will be better than if no obstacles had been opposed to my recognition in the first instance.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Sidel to Don J. Castillo y Lanzas.

JALAPA, March 1, 1846.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Mexican republic, had the honor, on the eighth day of December last, to address to his excellency Manuel de la Peña y Peña, then minister of foreign relations, a copy of his credentials, with a request that he might be informed when he would be admitted to present the original to the President of the Mexican republic. On the 16th December, the undersigned was informed by Mr. Peña y Peña that difficulties existed in relation to the tenor of his credentials, which made it necessary to consult the council of government thereon, and on the twentieth of the same month he was advised by Mr. Peña y Peña that the Mexican government had decided not to recognise him in his capacity of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

To these communications of the minister of foreign relations the undersigned replied, under dates of 20th and 24th December, refuting the reasoning by which the refusal to recognise him was attempted to be sustained, vindicating the course pursued by his government, and declaring his intention to proceed to Jalapa, there to await instructions adapted to an emergency so entirely unlooked for. He has now received these instructions.

The President of the United States entirely approves the course pursued by the undersigned, and the communications by him addressed to the Mexican government. Had the then existing government continued in power, as no alternative would have remained, the undersigned would have been directed to demand his passports, the President of the United

States would have submitted the whole case to Congress, and called upon the nation to assert its just rights, and avenge its injured honor.

The destinies of the Mexican republic, however, having since been committed to other hands, the President is unwilling to take a course which would inevitably result in war, without making another effort to avert so great a calamity. He wishes, by exhausting every honorable means of conciliation, to demonstrate to the civilized world that, if its peace shall be disturbed, the responsibility must fall upon Mexico alone. He is sincerely desirous to preserve that peace; but the state of quasi-hostility which now exists on the part of Mexico is one which is incompatible with the dignity and interests of the United States; and it is for the Mexican government to decide whether it shall give place to friendly negotiation, or lead to an open rupture.

It would be idle to repeat the arguments which the undersigned had the honor to present in his notes of the 20th and 24th December, above referred to. He has nothing to add to them, but is instructed again to present them to the consideration of the President ad interim of the Mexican republic, General Mariapo Paredes y Arrillago.

The undersigned begs leave to suggest, most respectfully, to your excellency, that inasmuch as ample time has been afforded for the most mature reflection upon the momentous interests involved in the question of his recognition, as little delay as possible may occur in notifying him of the final decision of his excellency the President ad interim. He cannot but indulge the hope that it will be such as to result in the establishment of cordial and lasting amity between the two republics.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity of presenting to his excellency Don Joaquim Castillo y Lanzas the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

JOHN SLIDELL

To his Excellency Don JOAQUIM CASTILLO Y LANZAS,
Minister of Foreign Relations and Government.

No. 14.

Mr. Eucharan to Mr. Slidell.

[Extracts.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, March 12, 1846.

The duplicate of your despatch No. 6, of the 6th ultimo, and your despatch No. 7, have been received. In the latter, you state that you shall anxiously await my definitive instructions by the "Mississippi."

It is not deemed necessary to modify the instructions which you have already received, except in a single particular, and this arises from the late revolution effected in the government of the Mexican republic by General Paredes.

I am directed by the President to instruct you, not to leave that republic until you shall have made a formal demand to be received by the new government. The government of Paredes came into existence not by a

regular constitutional succession, but in consequence of a military revolution, by which the subsisting constitutional authorities were subverted. It cannot be considered as a mere continuance of the government of Herrera. On the contrary, the form of government has been entirely changed, as well as all the high functionaries at the head of the administration. The two governments are certainly not so identical that the refusal of the one to receive you ought to be considered conclusive evidence that such would be the determination of the other. It would be difficult, on such a presumption, in regard to so feeble and distracted a country as Mexico, to satisfy the American people that all had been done which ought to have been done, to avoid the necessity of resorting to hostilities.

On your return to the United States, energetic measures against Mexico would at once be recommended by the President; and these might fail to obtain the support of Congress, if it could be asserted that the existing government had not refused to receive our minister. It would not be a sufficient answer to such an allegation that the government of Herrera had refused to receive you, and that you were therefore justified in leaving the country, after a short delay, because, in the meantime, the government of Paredes had not voluntarily offered to reverse the decision of its predecessor.

The President believes that for the purpose of making this demand, you ought to return to the city of Mexico, if this be practicable consistently with the national honor. It was prudent for you to leave it during the pendency of the late revolution, but this reason no longer continues. Under existing circumstances, your presence there might be productive of the most beneficial consequences.

The time when you shall ask to be received by the government of Paredes is left to your own discretion. The President thinks this ought to be done speedily, unless good reasons exist to the contrary. Your demand ought to be couched in strong but respectful language. It can no longer be resisted on the ridiculous pretence that your appointment has not been confirmed by the Senate.

I transmit you, herewith, a sealed letter from the President of the United States, accrediting you in your official character to General Paredes as President *ad interim* of the Mexican republic. An open copy of the letter is also enclosed, which you will communicate to the minister for foreign affairs, with a request for him to name a time for you to present the original to the acting president in person.

In regard to the time of your departure from the Mexican republic, the President is willing to extend your discretion. In the present distracted condition of that republic, it is impossible for those at a distance to decide as correctly what ought to be your course in this particular as you can yourself upon the spot. The intelligence which you have communicated, "that the department of Sinaloa has declared its independence," "that the garrison of Mazatlan has pronounced against Paredes," and "that the authorities of the departments of Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, Michoacan, and Queretaro have protested in strong terms against the usurpation of Paredes, and, refusing to continue in the exercise of their functions, have dissolved," may well exercise an influence on your decision. Indeed, you suppose that appearances justify the belief that Paredes will not be able to sustain himself until the meeting of the constituent

Congress; that his government will perish from inanition, if from no other cause.

In this critical posture of Mexican affairs, it will be for yourself to decide the question of the time of your departure according to events as they may occur. If, after you shall have fulfilled your instructions, you should indulge a reasonable hope that by continuing in Mexico you could thus best subserve the interests of your country, then you ought to remain, provided this can be done with honor. The President reposes entire confidence in your patriotism and discretion, and knows that no temporary inconvenience to yourself will prevent you from performing your duty. It may be that when prepared to take your departure, another revolution might be impending, the result of which would enable you, by a timely interposition, to accomplish the great objects of your mission. Besides, in the present distracted condition of Mexico, it is of importance that we should have an able and discreet agent in that country to watch the progress of events, and to communicate information on which the department could rely. Jalapa is probably not so favorable a position for observation as the city of Mexico.

No. 15.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Jalapa, March 18, 1846.

On the 15th instant I received from the minister of foreign relations a reply to my communication of the 1st instant, of which you have already been advised.

It is a peremptory refusal to receive me in the capacity of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. I have consequently, in conformity with your instructions, applied for my passports, and, so soon as they are received, I shall proceed to Vera Cruz, there to embark for New Orleans. I send you copies of the note of the minister of foreign relations, and of my reply.

The state of affairs in this country has not materially varied, since I had the honor of addressing you on the 1st instant. The downward course of the Paredes government is continued with accelerated speed. I do not think that he can sustain himself until the period fixed for the meeting of his constituent Congress; and I should not be surprised at his ejection from his usurped power at a much earlier day. My letters from the capital all concur as to the extreme precariousness of his tenure of office, and the great excitement that exists not only there, but throughout the departments. The apprehension of his intention to introduce an alien monarchy has excited the public mind to a degree of which I had not considered it capable.

I am at a loss whether to ascribe his refusal to receive me, at a moment when his position is so critical, to the dread of having the pretext which he had so successfully used against Herrera employed against himself, or

to a reliance upon foreign intervention. Perhaps his motive may be a mixed one.

As to any changes of rulers in Mexico, I look upon them as a matter of great indifference. We shall never be able to treat with her on fair terms until she has been taught to respect us. It certainly was proper to place us in the strongest moral position before our own people and the world, by exhausting every possible means of conciliation; but here all amicable advances are considered as indicative either of weakness or treachery.

The next movement will probably be a "pronunciamiento" of the federal party, sustained by a portion of the army. It is said, and (strange as it may appear) on good authority, that the expelled dictator Santa Anna will be invited to head this liberal movement. The leading military men are in his favor, and should he accept the invitation, he will have little difficulty in putting down Paredes.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

Mr. Castillo y Lanzas to Mr. Slidell.

NATIONAL PALACE, MEXICO, March 12, 1846.

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations and government of the republic, has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note addressed to him from Jalapa, under date of the 1st instant, by his excellency John Slidell, appointed minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary of the United States of America.

So soon as the said communication was received by the undersigned, he proceeded to communicate it to his excellency the President *ad interim*; and he, after deliberately considering its contents, and maturely meditating upon the business, has seen fit to order the undersigned to make known to Mr. Slidell, in reply, as he now has the honor of doing, that the Mexican government cannot receive him as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to reside near it.

And here might the undersigned terminate his note, if reasons of great weight did not convince him of the necessity of making some reflections in this place; not through fear of the consequences which may result from this decisive resolve, but through the respect which he owes to reason and to justice.

It is true that this warlike display with which the American Union presents herself—by sea, with her squadrons on both coasts; by land, with her invading forces, advancing by the northern frontiers; at the same time, that by her minister plenipotentiary propositions are made for conciliation and accommodation—would be a sufficiently powerful reason for not listening to them, so long as all threatening shall not be withdrawn, even to the slightest appearance of hostility. But even this is waived by the government of the republic, in order that it may in all frankness and loyalty enter into the discussion, relying solely upon reason and facts. A simple reference to the truth, plainly stated, suffices to show the justice by which Mexico is upheld in the question now under discussion.

The vehement desire of the government of the United States to extend

its already immense territory, at the expense of that of Mexico, has been manifest for many years; and it is beyond all doubt that, in regard to Texas at least, this has been their firm and constant determination; for it has been so declared categorically and officially by an authorized representative of the Union, whose assertion, strange and injurious as was its frankness, has nevertheless not been belied by the United States.

Putting out of view, now, all the events to which this marked intent has given rise through a long series of years—events which have served not only to prove it more and more strongly, but also to show that no means, of whatever kind they might be, were to be spared for its accomplishment—it is sufficient to attend to what occurred last year. This is the important part to the present case.

Considering the time as having come for carrying into effect the annexation of Texas, the United States, in union and by agreement with their natural allies and adherents in that territory, concerted the means for the purpose. The project was introduced into the American Congress. It was at first frustrated, thanks to the prudential considerations, the circumspection, and the wisdom with which the Senate of the Union then proceeded. Nevertheless, the project was reproduced in the following session, and was then approved and sanctioned in the form and terms known to the whole world.

A fact such as this, or, to speak with greater exactness, so notable an act of usurpation, created an imperious necessity that Mexico, for her own honor, should repel it with proper firmness and dignity. The supreme government had beforehand declared that it would look upon such an act as *casus belli*; and, as a consequence of this declaration, negotiation was by its representatives at an end, and war was the only recourse of the Mexican government.

But before it proceeded to recover its outraged rights, propositions were addressed to it from the so-called President of the republic of Texas, which had for their object to enter into an amicable accommodation upon the basis of her independence; and the government agreed to hear them, and consented to receive the commissioners who with this view were sent to it from Texas.

Moments so precious were not thrown away by the agents of the United States in Texas. Availing themselves of the *status quo* of Mexico, they so prepared matters and directed affairs, that the already concerted annexation to the American Union should follow almost immediately.

Thus, this incorporation of a territory, which had constituted an integral part of that of Mexico during the long period of the Spanish dominion, and after its emancipation for so long a term, without any interruption whatever, and which moreover had been recognised and sanctioned by the treaty of limits between the Mexican republic and the United States of America—this annexation—was effected by the reproated means of violence and fraud.

Civilized nations have beheld with amazement, at this enlightened and refined epoch, a powerful and well-consolidated State, availing itself of the internal dissensions of a neighboring nation, putting its vigilance to sleep by protestations of friendship, setting in action all manner of springs and artifices, alternately plying intrigue and violence, and seizing a moment to despoil her of a precious part of her territory, regardless of the incontestable rights of the most unquestionable ownership, and the most uninterrupted possession.

Here, then, is the true position of the Mexican republic: despoiled, outraged, contemned, it is now attempted to subject her to a humiliating degradation. The sentiment of her own dignity will not allow her to consent to such ignominy.

After the definite and clear explanations rendered to his excellency Mr. Slidell, in the note of the 20th December last, referred to by him, it is not easy to comprehend how the Executive of the United States should still think it can find reasons for insisting upon that which was then refused upon grounds the most conclusive.

The consul of the United States in this capital, addressed on the 13th of October to the then minister of foreign relations a confidential letter, wherein, referring to what he had previously stated to the minister in an interview of the same character, he says:

"At the time of the suspension of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, General Almonte was assured of the desire felt by the President to adjust amicably every cause of complaint between the governments, and to cultivate the kindest and most friendly relations between the sister republics. He still continues to be animated by the same sentiments. He desires that all existing differences should be terminated amicably, by negotiation, and not by the sword."

"Actuated by these sentiments, the President has directed me to instruct you, in the absence of any diplomatic agent in Mexico, to ascertain from the Mexican government whether they would receive an envoy from the United States, intrusted with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments. Should the answer be in the affirmative, such an envoy will be immediately despatched to Mexico."

To this, the ministry now in the charge of the undersigned replied on the 15th of the same month, "that, although the nation is gravely offended by that of the United States, by reason of the acts committed by the latter towards the department of Texas, the property of the former, my government is disposed to receive the commissioner who may come from the United States, to this capital, with full powers from his government to arrange in a pacific, reasonable, and decorous manner, the present controversy; thereby giving a new proof that, even in the midst of injuries, and of its firm determination to exact the adequate reparation, it does not repel nor despise the part of reason and of peace to which it is invited by its adversary."

From these extracts it is manifest that it was the firm intention of the Mexican government to admit only a plenipotentiary from the United States, clothed with powers *ad hoc*—that is to say, special powers to treat upon the question of Texas, and upon this alone, as preliminary to the renewal of friendly relations between the two countries, if the result should be such as to admit of their restoration, and then, but not before, of the reception of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary near the same government.

Nor could the government of the republic on that occasion extend its engagement beyond this; for to admit any person sent by the United States in the character simply of the ordinary agents between friendly nations, whilst the grave question of Texas was still pending, directly and immediately affecting as it does the integrity of the Mexican territory, and the very nationality itself, would be equivalent to an acknowledgment that this question was at an end, thus prejudging it without even touching one of the long and long necessary and in general, only, could it be

ing it, and to a recognition that the relations of friendship and harmony between the two nations were from that moment in fact re-established. So very simple a truth is this, that the appointment of an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary by the Executive of the United States, and the subsequent ratification of this appointment, notwithstanding all that was set forth on the subject by the government of Mexico, cause this act to appear as an attempt which the undersigned does not permit himself to qualify.

If good faith presides, as is to be supposed, over the dispositions of the government of the United States, what motive could exist for so anxiously repelling the indispensable restriction with which Mexico has acceded to the proposal spontaneously made by the former? If it was really and positively desired to tie up again the bonds of good understanding and friendship between the two nations, the way was very easy: the Mexican government offered to admit the plenipotentiary or commissioner who should come clothed with special powers to treat upon the question of Texas.

Upon this point the resolve of the Mexican government is immutable. And since in the extreme case it is the rights of the Mexican nation which will have to be affirmed, for it is her honor which has been outraged, and which will have to be avenged, her government will, if this necessity arise, call upon all her citizens to fulfil the sacred duty of defending their country.

A lover of peace, she would wish to ward off this sad contingency; and without fearing war, she would desire to avoid so great a calamity for both countries. For this she has offered herself, and will continue to offer herself, open to all honorable means of conciliation; and she anxiously desires that the present controversy may terminate in a reasonable and decorous manner.

In the actual state of things, to say that Mexico maintains a position of quasi hostility with respect to the United States, is to add a new offence to her previous injuries. Her attitude is one of defence, because she sees herself unjustly attacked; because a portion of her territory is occupied by the forces of a nation, intent, without any right whatever, to possess itself of it; because her ports are threatened by the squadrons of the same power. Under such circumstances, is she to remain inactive, without taking measures suited to so rigorous an emergency?

It is then not upon Mexico, seeing her present state, that it devolves to decide if the issue shall be a friendly negotiation or an open rupture. It is long since her interests have made this necessary, and her dignity has demanded it; but in the hope of an accommodation at once honorable and pacific, she has silenced the clamor of these imperious exigencies.

It follows that, if war should finally become inevitable, and if in consequence of this war the peace of the civilized world should be disturbed, the responsibility will not fall upon Mexico. It will all rest upon the United States; to them will the whole of it belong. Not upon Mexico, who, with a generosity unequalled, admitted the American citizens who wished to colonize in Texas, but upon the United States, who, bent upon possessing themselves, early or late, of that territory, encouraged emigration thither with that view; in order that, in due time, its inhabitants, converting themselves from colonists into its masters, should claim the country as their own, for the purpose of transferring it to the United States. Not upon Mexico, who, having in due season protested against so enor-

mons a transgression, wished to remove all cause for controversy and hostilities, but upon the United States, who, to the scandal of the world, and in manifest violation of treaties, gave protection and aid to these guilty of a rebellion so iniquitous. Not upon Mexico, who, in the midst even of injuries so great and so repeated, has shown herself disposed to admit propositions for conciliation, but upon the United States, who, pretending sincerely to desire a friendly and honorable accommodation, have belied by their acts the sincerity of their words. Finally, not upon Mexico, who, putting out of view her own dearest interests, through her deference for peace, has entertained as long as was wished, the propositions which, with this view, might be made to her, but upon the United States, who, by frivolous pretexts, evade the conclusion of such an arrangement, proposing peace at the very moment when they are causing their squadrons and their troops to advance upon the ports and the frontiers of Mexico, exacting a humiliation impossible to be submitted to, in order to find a pretext, if no reason can be found, which may occasion the breaking out of hostilities.

It is, therefore, upon the United States, and not upon Mexico, that it devolves to determine in the alternative presented by Mr. Slidell—that is, between a friendly negotiation and an open rupture.

The undersigned doubts not that he makes his excellency Mr. Slidell sensible that, in view of what is set forth in the present note, the Mexican government trusts that the Executive of the United States, in coming to the determination which it shall deem proper, will act with the deliberation and mature consideration demanded by the exceedingly grave interests involved in this very thorny question.

The Mexican government, preparing for war, should circumstances require it, will keep alive its flattering hope that peace will not be disturbed on the new continent; and in making this declaration in the face of the world, it emphatically disclaims all responsibility for the evils which may attend a struggle which it has not provoked, and which it has made every effort to avoid.

In communicating all this (by order of his government) to his excellency John Slidell, the undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to offer to him the assurance of his very distinguished consideration.

J. M. DE CASTILLO Y LANZAS.

His Excellency JOHN SLIDELL.

[Enclosure No. 2.]
Mr. Slidell to Mr. Castillo.

JALAPA, March 17, 1846.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of your excellency of the 12th instant, by which he is informed that the Mexican government cannot receive him in his capacity of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, to reside near that government.

As it is the intention of the undersigned, in conformity with his instructions, to return to the United States with the least possible delay, embarking at Vera Cruz, he has now to request that he may be furnished with the necessary passports, which he will await at this place.

As your excellency has advanced no new arguments in support of the refusal to receive the undersigned as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, he will abstain from commenting upon that portion of the note of your excellency which, with a mere difference of phraseology, presents substantially the same reasoning as that urged by Mr. Peña y Peña in his note of the 20th December last; but he cannot permit, by his silence, the inference which would naturally be implied, of his assent to the correctness of the statements made by your excellency in relation to the question of Texas, and to the general course of policy which is so gratuitously ascribed to the government of the United States. In the review of these statements which it becomes his duty to make, he will strive to preserve that calmness of tone and reserve of language which is most consistent with the consciousness of right, and the power to vindicate it, if necessary, and of which he regrets to find that your excellency has not given him the example. The United States can confidently appeal to the history of the events of the last twenty years as affording the most conclusive refutation of the charges of usurpation, violence, fraud, artifice, intrigue, and bad faith, so lavishly scattered through the note of your excellency.

It has never been pretended that the scheme of colonization of the territory of Texas, by citizens of the United States, was suggested by their government. It was in conformity with a policy deliberately adopted by that of Mexico, and she must accuse herself alone for results which the slightest foresight must have anticipated, from the introduction of a population whose character, habits, and opinions were so widely divergent from those of the people with whom it was attempted to amalgamate them. There is no ground for the assertion that the United States, profiting by the generosity with which their citizens had been invited to Texas, and resolved, sooner or later, to take possession of that territory, encouraged emigration thither, with the view that its inhabitants, changing the character of colonists for that of masters, should seize upon the territory for the purpose of transferring it to the United States. It is true that no obstacles to this emigration were interposed by them, for it has ever been one of the most cherished articles of the political creed of the American people, that every citizen has the absolute and uncontrollable right to divest himself of his allegiance, and to seek, if he think proper, the advancement of his fortunes in foreign lands. Stimulated by the gratuitous allotment of lands to emigrants, and by the similarity, approaching, with the exception of religious tolerance, almost to identity, of the political institutions of the Mexican republic to those under which they had been reared, the population of Texas soon attained a development that authorized the demand of a privilege which had been solemnly guaranteed to them by the constitution of 1824—admission into the Mexican union as a separate State. A convention was held, and a State constitution formed, in conformity with the provisions of the fundamental compact of 1824. It was presented to the general Congress, with a petition to be admitted into the union; the application was rejected; and the delegates imprisoned. Soon after, the constitutional Congress of Mexico was dissolved by military force; the same arbitrary power convened a new Congress, by which the federal constitution was abrogated, and a consolidated or central government established in its stead. Texas, as she had an unquestionable right to do, refused to acknowledge the authority of a government which had been imposed upon the other States by a successful military usurpa-

tion. The compact which had bound her to the Mexican republic was dissolved; and, an abortive effort having been made to reduce her to subjection, she, on the 3d of March, 1836, declared herself an independent republic, and nobly sustained that declaration on the battle-field of San Jacinto, by the complete defeat and destruction of a numerous and well-appointed army, commanded by the President of the Mexican republic in person. She then demanded the recognition of her independence, and asked to be annexed to the United States. The language of President Jackson, in a communication by him addressed to Congress on the subject, affords a striking illustration of the good faith and forbearance towards Mexico which has ever characterized the conduct of the United States. He advised that no change should be made in the attitude of the United States, "if not until Mexico herself, or one of the great foreign powers, should recognise the independence of the new government, at least until the lapse of time, or course of events, should have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of Texas to maintain their sovereignty, or to uphold the government constituted by them." These overtures on the part of Texas were pending for several years, but were not entertained by the government of the United States until the period had arrived when, in the language of President Jackson, above quoted, the lapse of time and course of events had proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of her people to maintain her separate sovereignty. Her independence must be considered as a settled fact, which cannot be called in question. Nearly four years since, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, in a despatch to the minister of the United States at Mexico, said: "From the time of the battle of San Jacinto, in April, 1836, to the present moment, Texas has exhibited the same external signs of national independence as Mexico herself, and with quite as much stability of government. Practically free and independent; acknowledged as a political sovereignty by the principal powers of the world; no hostile foot finding rest within her territory for six or seven years; and Mexico herself, refraining for all that period from any further attempt to re-establish her own authority over the territory;" three additional years of inaction on the part of Mexico elapsed, before the final action of the United States upon the question of annexation, with the assent of the same Senate whose prudence, circumspection, and wisdom your excellency so justly eulogizes. And if any additional sanction could have been required to a measure so evidently just and proper, it has been afforded by Mexico herself, who, through her minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Cuevas, authorized by the national Congress, on the 19th of May last, declared: "The supreme government receives the four articles above mentioned as the preliminaries of a formal and definitive treaty; and, further, that it is disposed to commence the negotiation as Texas may desire, and to receive the commissioners which she may name for the purpose." The first condition was, "Mexico consents to acknowledge the independence of Texas." True it is, that, by the second condition, Texas engaged that she would stipulate in the treaty not to annex herself, or become subject, to any country whatever. When it is recollected that this preliminary arrangement was made through the intervention of the ministers of Great Britain and France, consequent upon the passage of the act of annexation, it cannot be denied that it was intended to apply solely to the United States; and that, while Mexico acknowledged her inability to contest the independence of Texas, and was prepared to abandon all her pretensions to that territory, she was induced to make this

tardy and reluctant recognition—not by any abatement of her hostile sentiments towards her (so called) rebellious subjects, but in the hope of gratifying her unfriendly feelings against the United States.

The undersigned cannot but express his unfeigned surprise that, in the face of this incontrovertible evidence that Mexico had abandoned all intention or even hope of ever re-establishing her authority over any portion of Texas, your excellency should have asserted that "Texas had been an integral part of Mexico, not only during the long period of Spanish dominion, but since its emancipation, *without any interruption whatever* during so long a space of time;" and, again, that "the United States had despoiled Mexico of a valuable portion of her territory, regardless of the incontrovertible rights of the most unquestionable property, and of the *most constant possession*." How weak must be the cause which can only be sustained by assertions so inconsistent with facts that are notorious to all the world; and how unfounded are all these vehement declamations against the usurpations and thirst for territorial aggrandizement of the United States. The independence of Texas, then, being a fact conceded by Mexico herself, she had no right to prescribe restrictions as to the form of government Texas might choose to assume, nor can she justly complain that Texas, with a wise appreciation of her true interests, has thought proper to merge her sovereignty in that of the United States.

The Mexican government cannot shift the responsibility of war upon the United States, by assuming that they are the aggressors. A plain, unanswerable fact responds to all the subtleties and sophistries by which it is attempted to obscure the real question; that fact is, the presence in Mexico of a minister of the United States, clothed with full power to settle all the questions in dispute between the two nations, and among them that of Texas. Their complaints are mutual; the consideration of them cannot be separated; and they must be settled by the same negotiation, or by the arbitrament which Mexico herself has elected. With what reason does Mexico attribute to the United States the desire of finding a pretext to commence hostilities? The appearance of a few ships of war off the Mexican coasts, and the advance of a small military force to the frontier of Texas, are cited as evidence that the declarations of a desire to preserve peace are insincere. Surely it cannot be necessary to remind your excellency that the menaces of war have all proceeded from Mexico; and it would seem that the elevation to power of its actual government was too recent to have afforded your excellency time to forget the ostensible reasons for which that which preceded it was overthrown. The crime imputed to the then President—a crime so odious as to justify his forcible expulsion from the Presidency, to which he had been but a few months previous elected with unparalleled unanimity, and in accordance with all the forms of the constitution—was that of not having prosecuted the war against Texas, or, in other words, against the United States—a crime, of which the enormity was aggravated in a ten-fold degree, by his having accepted the proposal of the United States to negotiate. To suppose that the present government has not always intended, and does not still intend, vigorously to prosecute an offensive war against the United States, would be to insinuate the degrading charge of making declarations which it did not design to fulfil, with the unworthy motive of supplanting a rival.

With these avowed intentions on the part of Mexico, and, so far as words can constitute war, that state actually existing, with what fairness can she

complain of precautions having been taken by the United States to guard against the attacks with which they have been menaced, so far at least as their very moderate peace establishment would permit them to do so? Are they patiently and meekly to abide the time when Mexico shall be prepared to strike, with due effect, the threatened blow?

Your excellency has alluded to the internal dissensions of Mexico, and accused the United States "of taking advantage of them, beguiling its vigilance by protestations of friendship, bringing into play every kind of device and artifice, and appealing alternately to intrigue and violence." Were the disposition of the United States such as your excellency is pleased to attribute to them, they would have eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the first refusal to receive the undersigned; and certainly no moment more propitious than the present to carry their ambitious schemes into effect could have been selected. Instead of availing themselves of it, they have, with a degree of forbearance that by many, perhaps by most impartial observers, will be considered humiliating, repeated the overtures for negotiation which had been rejected under circumstances the best calculated to offend national pride; and this most conciliatory advance, made by the aggrieved party, is said by your excellency to be an attempt which he cannot permit himself to call by its proper name, (*una tentativa que el infrascrito no se permite calificar.*) This reserve is remarkable, when contrasted with the terms of vituperation so freely employed in other parts of the note: or is it that your excellency could discover no epithet sufficiently energetic to stigmatize an offence so enormous as a renewed proposition to enter upon negotiations?

The undersigned has already exceeded the limits which he had prescribed to himself for reply. The question has now reached a point where words must give place to acts. While he deeply regrets a result so little contemplated when he commenced the duties of his mission of peace, he is consoled by the reflection that no honorable efforts to avert the calamities of war have been spared by his government, and that these efforts cannot fail to be properly appreciated, not only by the people of the United States, but by the world.

The undersigned begs leave to renew to his excellency Don J. M. de Castillo y Lanzas the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

JOHN SLIDELL.

His Excellency Don J. M. DE CASTILLO Y LANZAS,
Minister of Foreign Relations and Government.

No. 16.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SALTA, March 27, 1846.

I expected to have received my passports by the mail of this day, as an order to furnish me an escort was forwarded to the commanding general at this place by the mail which reached here on the 24th instant, and the

fact of their having been issued had been announced in the journals of the capital. They have not appeared, and, as I have no letters from our consul, I am induced to believe that, from some misapprehension, they have been forwarded to Vera Cruz. I shall accordingly proceed thither to-morrow, embarking immediately for the Balize, if my anticipation be correct; if not, I shall remain there until I have heard something definitive on the subject.

Letters from Mazatlan of the 4th instant state that Captain Fremont, with his corps of observation, arrived at Sutler's settlement, on the Sacramento, early in January. He is said to have discovered a good wagon road to Oregon, which is much shorter than any heretofore travelled. He had gone to Monterey, in Upper California, leaving his corps on the Sacramento.

I am informed that the council of government has been deliberating on the question of issuing "patentas de corso," or letters of marque, in anticipation of hostilities with the United States. I do not learn that any final decision was made.

Parres, the Secretary of Hacienda, has resigned; everything indicates a speedy breaking up of the Paredes government; several journals openly advocate the return of Santa Anna, and his restoration to power. The failure of Paredes to enforce against the editors his menaces of deportation to San Juan de Ulloa, or Acapulco, affords the best evidence of his weakness. He wants the power, not the will.

General Almonte has been appointed minister to Great Britain.

Letters by the mail of to-day state that Paredes has found himself at last compelled to come out with a proclamation denying the intentions of establishing a monarchy which have been charged against him; that the document had already been printed, but my informant could not procure a copy.

No. 17.

Mr. Slidell to Mr. Buchanan.

[Extracts.]

UNITED STATES SHIP MISSISSIPPI,
At Sea, April 2, 1846.

I last had the honor of addressing you, on the 27th ultimo, from Jalapa. My passports had, as I supposed, gone to Vera Cruz, although they were directed to me at Jalapa.

I send a copy of Mr. Castillo y Lanzas's note accompanying the passports. You will observe from its date, that, with a promptness very unusual in Mexican councils, they were transmitted by the first mail after the reception of my note of 17th March.

The notes of Mr. Castillo y Lanzas will give you a correct idea of the temper of the Paredes government; and although it will probably soon be replaced by another, we have no reason to expect a change of tone towards us until Mexico shall have been made to feel our strength.

General Almonte had reached Jalapa, on his way to Vera Cruz, there to embark in the British steamer.

I send you a paper containing the manifesto of Paredes, of which I made mention in my last. It professes to present his views of the difficulties with the United States, and in relation to the form of government. As to the latter, it will be seen, on a critical examination, that it is far from being satisfactory. It merely affirms that he is in favor of a republican government, until the constituent Congress shall have decided the question; that his preferences are for a republic, but if what he assumes will be an expression of the national will shall pronounce differently, he is prepared to obey it. But we know, from recent experience, what reliance is to be placed on the declarations of Paredes.

The manifesto declares that until the national Congress shall have considered the question, no act of aggression will be committed against the United States by the Mexican government, but that it will repel any that may be offered by them. This declaration, however, under existing circumstances, even if made in good faith, leaves a wide range of discretion; for the advance of our troops to the banks of the Rio del Norte can at any time be made a ground for commencing hostilities.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Castillo y Lanzas to Mr. Slidell.

[Translation.]

NATIONAL PALACE, *Mexico, March 21, 1846.*

The undersigned, minister of foreign relations and government, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note which his excellency John Slidell, appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, was pleased to address to him, under date of the 17th instant, from the city of Jalapa.

As it appears that Mr. Slidell, in this communication, merely reproduces arguments and historical reasons which have been previously presented by other diplomatic agents of the United States in this country, and have been repeatedly refuted victoriously by the Mexican government, it would be unnecessary for the undersigned to undertake anew the useless task of entering into an examination of the said reasons and arguments.

And as Mr. Slidell is, moreover, agreeably to instructions from his government, about to return to the United States, and he asks that passports be delivered to him to that effect, the undersigned has the honor to enclose them to his excellency, in compliance with the orders of his excellency the acting President of the republic.

The undersigned at the same time avails himself of the opportunity to renew to his excellency Mr. Slidell the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

J. M. DE CASTILLO Y LANZAS.

His Excellency JOHN SLIDELL.

ORDERS AND INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL TAYLOR, FROM MAY 28, 1845,
TO MARCH 2, 1846.

[Confidential.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 28, 1845.*

SIR: I am directed by the President to cause the forces now under your command, and those which may be assigned to it, to be put into a position where they may most promptly and efficiently act in defence of Texas, in the event it shall become necessary or proper to employ them for that purpose. The information received by the Executive of the United States warrants the belief that Texas will shortly accede to the terms of annexation. As soon as the Texan Congress shall have given its consent to annexation, and a convention shall assemble and accept the terms offered in the resolutions of Congress, Texas will then be regarded by the executive government here so far a part of the United States as to be entitled from this government to defence and protection from foreign invasion and Indian incursions. The troops under your command will be placed and kept in readiness to perform this duty.

In the letter addressed to you from the Adjutant General's office, of the 21st of March, you were instructed to hold a portion of the troops under your immediate command in readiness to move into Texas under certain contingencies, and upon further orders from this department. In the treaty between the United States and Mexico, the two governments mutually stipulated to use all the means in their power to maintain peace and harmony among the Indian nations inhabiting the lands on their borders, and to restrain by force any hostilities and incursions by these nations within their respective boundaries, so that the one would not suffer the Indians within its limits to attack, in any manner whatever, the citizens of the other, or the Indians residing upon the territories of the other. (See the 33d article, a copy of which is herewith transmitted.) The obligations which in this respect are due to Mexico by this treaty, are due also to Texas. Should the Indians residing within the limits of the United States, either by themselves, or associated with others, attempt any hostile movement in regard to Texas, it will be your duty to employ the troops under your command to repel and chastise them; and for this purpose you will give the necessary instructions to the military posts on the upper Red river, (although not under your immediate command,) and, with the approbation of the Texan authorities, make such movements, and take such position, within the limits of Texas, as in your judgment may be necessary. You are also directed to open immediate correspondence with the authorities of Texas, and with any diplomatic agent of the United States, (if one should be residing therein,) with a view to information and advice in respect to the common Indian enemy, as well as to any foreign power. This communication and consultation with the Texan authorities, &c., are directed with a view to enable you to avail yourself of the superior local knowledge they may possess, but not for the purpose of placing you, or any portion of the forces of the United States, under the orders of any functionary not in the regular line of command above you.

Should the territories of Texas be invaded by a foreign power, and you

shall receive certain intelligence through her functionaries of that fact, after her convention shall have acceded to the terms of annexation contained in the resolutions of the Congress of the United States, you will at once employ, in the most effective manner your judgment may dictate, the forces under your command, for the defence of these territories, and to expel the invaders.

It is supposed here that, for the mere purpose of repelling a common Indian enemy, as above provided for, it may not be necessary that you should march across the Sabine or upper Red river (at least in the first instance) with more than the particular troops which you were desired in the instructions before referred to, of the 21st March, to hold in immediate readiness for the field, but it is not intended to restrict you positively to that particular amount of force. On the contrary, according to the emergency, you may add any other corps, or any number of companies within your department deemed necessary, beginning with those nearest at hand; and in the contingency of a *foreign* invasion of Texas, as above specified, other regiments from a distance may be ordered to report to you.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

General Z. TAYLOR,
Fort Jesup, Louisiana.

[Confidential.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 15, 1845.*

SIR: On the 4th day of July next, or very soon thereafter, the convention of the people of Texas will probably accept the proposition of annexation, under the joint resolutions of the late Congress of the United States. That acceptance will constitute Texas an integral portion of our country.

In anticipation of that event, you will forthwith make a forward movement with the troops under your command, and advance to the mouth of the Sabine, or to such other point on the gulf of Mexico, or its navigable waters, as in your judgment may be most convenient for an embarkation at the proper time for the western frontier of Texas.

In leaving to your judgment to decide the route, it is intended that you choose the most expeditious, having due regard to the health and efficiency of the troops on reaching the point of destination.

The force under your immediate command at and near Fort Jesup to be put in motion on the receipt of these instructions, will be the 3d and 4th regiments of infantry, and seven companies of the 2d regiment of dragoons. The two absent companies of the 4th infantry have been ordered to join their regiments. Artillery will be ordered from New Orleans.

It is understood that suitable forage for cavalry cannot be obtained in the region which the troops are to occupy; if this be so, the dragoons must leave their horses and serve as riflemen. But it is possible that horses of the country accustomed to subsist on meager forage may be procured if it be found necessary. You will therefore take the precaution

to order a portion of the cavalry equipments to accompany the regiment, with a view to mounted service.

The point of your ultimate destination is the western frontier of Texas, where you will select and occupy, on or near the Rio Grande del Norte, such a site as will consist with the health of the troops, and will be best adapted to repel invasion, and to protect what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border. You will limit yourself to the defence of the territory of Texas, unless Mexico should declare war against the United States.

Your movement to the gulf of Mexico, and your preparations to embark for the western frontier of Texas, are to be made without any delay; but you will not effect a landing on that frontier until you have yourself ascertained the due acceptance of Texas of the proffered terms of annexation, or until you receive directions from Mr. Donelson.

I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

To Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,

U. S. Army, Comm'g 1st Dept., Fort Jesup, La.

P. S.—The revenue cutters Spencer and Woodbury have been placed by the Treasury Department at the disposition of Mr. Donelson.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 8, 1845.

SIR: This department is informed that Mexico has some military establishments on the east side of the Rio Grande, which are, and for some time have been, in the actual occupancy of her troops. In carrying out the instructions heretofore received, you will be careful to avoid any acts of aggression unless an actual state of war should exist. The Mexican forces at the posts in their possession, and which have been so, will not be disturbed as long as the relations of peace between the United States and Mexico continue.

WM. L. MARCY.

Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 30, 1845.

SIR: Your letter, from New Orleans, of the 20th instant, addressed to the Adjutant General, has been received and laid before the President, and he desires me to express to you his approval of your movements.

He has not the requisite information in regard to the country to enable him to give any positive directions as to the position you ought to take, or the movements which it may be expedient to make. These must be governed by circumstances. While avoiding, as you have been instructed to do, all aggressive measures towards Mexico, as long as the relations of peace exist between that republic and the United States, you are expected to occupy, protect, and defend the territory of Texas to the extent that it has been occupied by the people of Texas. The Rio Grande is claimed to be the boundary between the two countries, and up to this boundary

you are to extend your protection, only excepting any posts on the eastern side thereof, which are in the actual occupancy of Mexican forces, or Mexican settlements over which the republic of Texas did not exercise jurisdiction at the period of annexation, or shortly before that event. It is expected that, in selecting the establishment for your troops, you will approach as near the boundary line—the Rio Grande—as prudence will dictate. With this view, the President desires that your position, for a part of your forces at least, should be west of the river Nueces.

You are directed to ascertain and communicate to this department the number of Mexican troops now at Matamoras, and the other Mexican posts along the border, their position, the condition of them, and particularly the measures taken or contemplated to increase or strengthen them. If you should have any reason to believe that the government of Mexico is concentrating forces on the boundaries of the two countries, you will not only act with reference to such a state of things, but give the earliest information to this department.

Very respectfully, &c.,

WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding the army of occupation in Texas.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, August 6, 1845.

GENERAL: Pursuant to the instructions of the Secretary of War, the 7th regiment of infantry has been ordered to join the army under your command in Texas, and the three companies of the 2d dragoons at Fort Washita are also under orders to proceed to Austin without delay, with instructions to report to you on their arrival.

Although a state of war with Mexico, or an invasion of Texas by her forces, may not take place, it is nevertheless deemed proper and necessary that your force should be fully equal to meet, with certainty of success, any crisis which may arise in Texas, and which would require you, by force of arms, to carry out the instructions of the government.

I am instructed by the Secretary of War to request you to learn from the authorities of Texas what auxiliary forces, volunteers, &c., could be placed at your disposal in case any additional troops may be needed; and how soon they would be able to take the field upon any emergency. I am also instructed to say, that for such procedure on your part the requisite authority is now conferred. A copy of a communication addressed to the Texan authorities touching the subject, by the State Department, is herewith transmitted for your information.

Such auxiliary or volunteer force from Texas, when events, not now revealed, may justify their employment, will be organized and mustered under your orders, and be received into the service of the United States when actually required in the field to repel invasion, actual or menaced, and not before. In organizing these forces, you will of course follow the regulations prescribed in cases when detachments of militia from the States and Territories are called into the service of the United States. It should be understood that, as yet, no provision exists by law for the payment of

such forces, but appropriations for that purpose will doubtless be made by Congress. They will be furnished with rations while in actual service, as the other troops under your command. The amount and description of the force to be mustered into the service of the United States is left to your determination, and, of course, to be regulated by circumstances.

In view of further precautionary measures, I am instructed by the Secretary of War to learn from you, at the earliest date, what other force and munitions (judging from any information you may possess as to the future exigencies of the public service) you deem it necessary to be sent to Texas; that is to say, what additional troops, designating the arms of the service; what supply and description of ordnance and ordnance stores, small arms, &c.

It is deemed expedient to establish in Texas one or more depôts of ordnance and other supplies, for which purpose you will please report the proper points to be occupied. Orders have already been issued to send 10,000 muskets and 1,000 rifles into Texas. They will be shipped for Galveston, subject to your orders on their arrival, as to the proper place of deposite, which of course should be with reference to convenience and accessibility in case they be required for the public use. Should these arms be put into the hands of the volunteers and auxiliary troops, you will please observe all needful precaution so that they be returned to the United States on the discharge of the troops from the public service.

Officers of the corps of engineers, topographical engineers, and ordnance, have been ordered to Texas, with instructions to report to you without delay.

"General order" No. 37, dated the 5th instant, was forwarded to you by the last mail.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES,
Adjutant General.

Brig. General Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding United States forces in Texas, bay of Aransas.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, August 23, 1845.

SIR: The information hitherto received as to the intentions of Mexico and the measures she may adopt, does not enable the administration here to give you more explicit instructions in regard to your movements than those which have been already forwarded to you. There is reason to believe that Mexico is making efforts to assemble a large army on the frontier of Texas, for the purpose of entering its territory and holding forcible possession of it. Of their movements you are doubtless advised, and we trust have taken, or early will take, prompt and efficient steps to meet and repel any such hostile incursion. Should Mexico assemble a large body of troops on the Rio Grande, and cross it with a considerable force, such a movement must be regarded as an invasion of the United States and the commencement of hostilities. You will, of course, use all the authority which has been or may be given you, to meet such a state of things. Texas must be protected from hostile invasion, and for that purpose you will of course employ to the utmost extent all the means you possess or can command.

An order has been this day issued for sending one thousand more men into Texas to join those under your command. When the existing orders are carried into effect, you will have with you a force of four thousand men of the regular army. We are not enabled to judge what auxiliary force can, upon an emergency, be brought together from Texas, and as a precautionary measure you are authorized to accept volunteers from the States of Louisiana and Alabama, and even from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Should Mexico declare war, or commence hostilities by crossing the Rio Grande with a considerable force, you are instructed to lose no time in giving information to the authorities of each or any of the abovementioned States as to the number of volunteers you may want from them respectively. Should you require troops from any of these States, it would be important to have them with the least possible delay. It is not doubted that at least two regiments from New Orleans and one from Mobile could be obtained and expeditiously brought into the field. You will cause it to be known at these places what number and description of troops you desire to receive from them in the contemplated emergency. The authorities of these States will be apprized that you are authorized to receive volunteers from them, and you may calculate that they will promptly join you when it is made known that their services are required. Arms, ammunition, and camp equipage for the auxiliary troops that you may require, will be sent forward subject to your orders. You will so dispose of them as to be most available in case they should be needed, at the same time with a due regard to their safety and preservation. Orders have been issued to the naval force on the gulf of Mexico to co-operate with you. You will, as far as practicable, hold communication with the commanders of our national vessels in your vicinity, and avail yourself of any assistance that can be derived from their co operation. The Lexington is ordered into service as a transport-ship, and will sail in a few days from New York with a detachment of United States troops for Corpus Christi. She will be employed as the exigency of the public service may require. In order to keep up a proper communication between the army in Texas and the United States, the On-ka-hy e, the Harney, and the Dolphin will be put into service as soon as they can be made ready as despatch vessels to convey intelligence, supplies, &c. You will avail yourself of these vessels and all other proper means to keep the government here advised of your operations, and of the state of things in Texas and Mexico.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, yours,

WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

General Z. TAYLOR.

[Sent to the quartermaster at New Orleans.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, August 25, 1845.

SIR: General Taylor, to whom has been committed the command of the army of occupation in Texas, is authorized to draw any auxiliary force he may need from Texas. If such aid should be wanted, it is not doubted that the patriotic citizens of that State will rally to his assistance with

alacrity, in sufficient numbers to enable him, in conjunction with United States troops, to repel the invasion of Texas by Mexico, should it be attempted. Though our information as to the force Mexico may bring into the field for such a purpose is not very accurate, yet there is reason to apprehend that it is more numerous than that under the command of General Taylor; and may, perhaps, exceed his effective force when augmented with the auxiliary aid he may derive from Texas. Besides, he may need additional troops to a greater number, and sooner than they can be furnished him from that State. Should he need assistance from your State, he is directed to signify to you the number and description of troops he may deem necessary to receive as volunteers into service. Relying upon the zeal and public spirit of the gallant militia of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the government here do not doubt that he will be promptly furnished with such and so many as he may express a desire to have mustered into the service of the United States; and it has the most perfect reliance upon your countenance and co-operation in organizing and sending into Texas such a volunteer force from your State as he may desire. It is necessarily left to his judgment to designate the number. It is proper to observe, that the emergency rendering such assistance from the militia of your State necessary, does not appear to have been foreseen by Congress, and consequently no appropriation was made for paying them; but it is not to be doubted that such a provision will be promptly made when Congress shall again assemble. In order to be paid, the State troops must be mustered into service. In organizing companies and regiments for that purpose, the number of officers must be proportioned to that of the privates. Enclosed I send you, from the Adjutant General, a statement of the number and rank of officers for each company of men, as well as the regimental and staff officers, should a regiment of volunteers be called for. From the known patriotism and military ardor of the militia of your State, it is presumed that volunteers to the number that may be required will readily tender their services to their country in the contemplated emergency. Should aid from your State be required by the commanding general in Texas, it will be of the utmost importance that the troops should be sent into that State without delay. This consideration will render it proper that they should come from such part of the State as can most promptly furnish them.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

His Excellency BENJAMIN FITZPATRICK,
Governor of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

His Excellency A. G. BROWN,
Governor of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi.

His Excellency ALEXANDER MOUTON,
Governor of Louisiana, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Letters were also addressed on the 28th of the same month, to the governors of Tennessee and Kentucky, on the same subject, and in the same words as the above.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, August 26, 1845.

GENERAL: I am instructed by the Secretary of War to say, it is very desirable that you should keep the department informed of the state of the service on the Texan frontiers, and the situation of the army under your command, by every opportunity which may offer. Official information, at short intervals, is now the more necessary, as the country is filled with rumors of the movement of Mexican troops in direction of your headquarters, as also of matters in relation to our own service. But, however exaggerated these reports may be, we cannot, for want of official tidings, undertake to correct what we have good reason to believe not to be true. You are requested, therefore, to write, if but a single line, by almost every vessel which may sail from near your headquarters for New Orleans.

Your last letter, received August 11th, is dated from Aransas Bay, July 28th, and to-night's mail brings letters and papers of the 19th, from New Orleans, with news from Aransas Bay, and the mouth of the Rio Grande, of August 12th.

I send you general orders No. 41, of yesterday's date, giving you more troops, which I hope you will not need before their arrival.

I am, general, with great respect, your obedient servant,
R. JONES, *Adjutant General.*

General TAYLOR,
Commanding, &c. the army of occupation.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, August 30, 1845.

SIR: Only one letter has been received from you since you entered Texas, and that was written the day after you arrived at Aransas Bay. Permit me to urge upon you the importance of availing yourself of every opportunity of communicating with this department. It is desirable to have early and correct information from you, to enable the government to form a true judgment of the designs and movements of Mexico, founded on ascertained facts. It is presumed that, in pursuance of previous instructions from this department, you have taken special pains to become acquainted with the proceedings of Mexico, particularly in regard to the number and kind of Mexican troops at Matamoras, Monterey, and other places, as well as those which are on the march towards them, and may be brought to act against your forces or pushed across the Rio Grande, either in the vicinity of Matamoras or at distant points in that river. You will not, I trust, underrate the importance of such information, or fail to use the proper and necessary means for acquiring it. You are directed, should you deem it expedient, to employ competent and trustworthy persons to obtain such intelligence.

The instructions heretofore issued enjoin upon you to defend Texas from invasion and Indian hostilities; and, should Mexico invade it, you will employ all your forces to repulse the invaders, and drive all Mexican troops beyond the Rio Grande. Should you judge the forces under your command inadequate, you will not fail to draw sufficient auxiliary aid from Texas, and, if there be need, from the States, pursuant to your previous in-

structions. It is not to be doubted that, on your notification, volunteer troops, to the number you may require, will rally with alacrity to your standard. You have been advised that the assembling a large Mexican army on the borders of Texas, and crossing the Rio Grande with a considerable force, will be regarded by the Executive here as an invasion of the United States, and the commencement of hostilities. An attempt to cross that river with such a force will also be considered in the same light. There may be other acts on the part of Mexico which would put an end to the relations of peace between that republic and the United States. Should depredations be committed on our commerce by her public armed vessels, or privateers acting under her authority, this will constitute a state of war.

Orders have been issued to the vessels of the United States in the gulf, to furnish you with information of any hostile proceedings of Mexico, and the state of things in that republic. You will embrace every occasion that may present, to forward to the commanders of these vessels such intelligence as you may possess concerning the movements of the military forces and the state of things in Mexico and Texas, and to suggest to them such assistance and co-operation as you may desire to receive.

In case of war, either declared or made manifest by hostile acts, your main object will be the protection of Texas; but the pursuit of this object will not necessarily confine your action within the territory of Texas. Mexico having thus commenced hostilities, you may, in your discretion, should you have sufficient force and be in a condition to do so, cross the Rio Grande, disperse or capture the forces assembling to invade Texas, defeat the junction of troops uniting for that purpose, drive them from their positions on either side of that river, and, if deemed practicable and expedient, take and hold possession of Matamoras and other places in the country. I scarcely need to say that enterprises of this kind are only to be ventured on under circumstances presenting a fair prospect of success.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Brigadier General Z. TAYLOR,
Commanding the U. S. army in Texas.

P. S.—Herewith you will find a copy of the order of the Navy Department to Commodore Conner.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, October 16, 1845.

SIR: The information which we have here renders it probable that no serious attempts will at present be made by Mexico to invade Texas, although she continues to threaten incursions. Previous instructions will have put you in possession of the views of the government of the United States, not only as to the extent of its territorial claims, but of its determination to assert them. In carrying out these instructions you will be left very much to your own judgment, by reason of your superior knowledge of localities, and the earlier notice you may receive of the probable views of Mexico and the movements of her troops.

On the supposition that no active operations on your part will be required during the approaching winter, an important question to be decided is the position or positions to be occupied by your forces. This must be determined mainly with reference to the objects for which the army under your command was sent into Texas. You will approach as near the western boundary of Texas (the Rio Grande) as circumstances will permit; having reference to reasonable security; to accommodations for putting your troops into winter huts, if deemed necessary; to the facility and certainty of procuring or receiving supplies; and to checking any attempted incursions by the Mexican forces or the Indian tribes. Ought your present position to be changed? the forces which are, or soon will be, assembled under your command, be kept together or divided? and, if divided, what positions are to be taken, and how are they to be divided? These are questions which must be in a measure left to your judgment, or, at least, the decision upon them here, if there be time, will be influenced in no inconsiderable degree by the information and views which you may furnish the department. You need not, therefore, wait for directions from Washington, to carry out what you may deem proper to be done. Upon all the points above enumerated, and others not suggested, your reports and views in full are desired, not only with reference to the continuance of the present aspect of affairs between the United States and Mexico, but in the contingency of your selecting, or being directed to take, a position on the banks of the Rio Grande near its mouth, or places above, or even in the event of open hostilities. It is expected that the officers of the Engineer and Topographical Corps, who have been sent into Texas, will examine, as far as practicable, under your direction, the country, with a view to selecting eligible positions for permanent or temporary occupation, for depots of supplies, arms, and munitions of war. It is extremely desirable that the seacoast, or at least that part of it which will be likely to be visited by our vessels in aid of any contemplated military operations, should be better known here than it now is; as well as the character of the several rivers which may present obstacles to the movements of our forces, or furnish facilities for transporting supplies. You are requested to avail yourself of all proper occasions, and employ the means you possess, to collect information in regard to all these matters, and forward it to this department.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War.

Brigadier General Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding army of occupation in Texas.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, January 13, 1846.

SIR: I am directed by the President to instruct you to advance and occupy, with the troops under your command, positions on or near the east bank of the Rio del Norte, as soon as it can be conveniently done with reference to the season and the routes by which your movements must be made. From the views heretofore presented to this department, it is presumed Point Isabel will be considered by you an eligible position. This point, or some one near it, and points opposite Matamoras and Mier, and

in the vicinity of Laredo, are suggested for your consideration; but you are left to your better knowledge to determine the post or posts which you are to occupy, as well as the question of dividing your forces with a view to occupying two or more positions.

In the positions you may take in carrying out these instructions and other movements that may be made, the use of the Rio del Norte may be very convenient, if not necessary. Should you attempt to exercise the right which the United States have in common with Mexico to the free navigation of this river, it is probable that Mexico would interpose resistance. You will not attempt to enforce this right without further instructions.

You are requested to report to this department, without delay, what means you may require, if any, beyond those you now possess, to enforce and maintain our common right to navigate this river, as well as your views of the importance of this right in the defence and protection of the State of Texas.

It is not designed, in our present relations with Mexico, that you should treat her as an enemy; but, should she assume that character by a declaration of war, or any open act of hostility towards us, you will not act merely on the defensive, if your relative means enable you to do otherwise.

Since instructions were given you to draw aid from Texas, in case you should deem it necessary, the relations between that State and the United States have undergone some modification. Texas is now fully incorporated into our union of States, and you are hereby authorized by the President to make a requisition upon the executive of that State for such of its militia force as may be needed to repel invasion or to secure the country against apprehended invasion.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WM. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War.

Brigadier-General Z. TAYLOR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, January 20, 1846.

SIR: You will perceive by a letter which has been addressed to General Taylor, commanding the United States troops in your State, a copy of which I send to you herewith, that the President has authorized him, in case of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, and an invasion or threatened invasion of your State, to make a requisition for such militia force as in a possible state of things may be required from Texas.

By the request of the President I hereby apprise you of the directions which have been given to General Taylor, and express to you the confidence here entertained, that, should he make a requisition, it will be promptly responded to.

WM. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War.

His Excellency JAMES HENDERSON,

Governor of the State of Texas.

[Extracts.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, March 2, 1846.

SIR: Your letter of the 7th ultimo, addressed to the Adjutant General, with accompanying documents, marked Nos. 1 and 2, has been submitted to the President for his consideration.

It is very desirable that you should use all the means at your command to acquire the most full and accurate information in relation not only to the military movements in the northern provinces of Mexico, but to the feelings and disposition of the people in them towards the present government, and to keep us advised thereof. It is the settled determination of the United States, in every possible event, to protect private property, to respect personal rights, and to abstain from all interference in religious matters. Upon these points you will give the most ample assurances, and improve every occasion that may arise to furnish proof of the good faith with which these assurances are made. If, in the course of events, you should have occasion to enter Mexico, it would be proper to quiet all apprehensions, so far as it can be done, by a public proclamation that the rights of property, persons, and religion, will be respected. Particular care should be taken not to alarm the religious feelings of the Mexicans.

At this time, we have no information direct from Mexico, so late as that contained in the extra of the Corpus Christi Gazette of the 12th of February. Though this is not of a character to command much confidence, yet it may not be prudent wholly to disregard it. You cannot fail to have timely notice of the approach of any considerable Mexican force; and, in that event, will promptly and efficiently use the authority with which you are clothed to call to you such auxiliary forces as you may need. The governor of Texas has been notified that you are authorized by the President to make a requisition on him for troops, and it is not doubted that he will promptly respond to any call you may make for that purpose.

Your advance to the Rio del Norte will bring you, as a matter of course, nearer to your assailants in case of hostilities, and at the same time remove you to a greater distance from the region from which auxiliary aid can be drawn. This consideration will naturally induce you to take more than ordinary care to be in a safe position, and prepared to sustain yourself against any assault. I make this suggestion, because I am not sure that you will have such co-operation on the part of our naval force as you may expect. The government has not such a vessel as you desire; but one or two, best suited to the service, have been ordered to the Texan coast. The Flirt, which has the least draught—eight or nine feet—is not of much efficiency. She carries not more than four guns. The Somers or Porpoise, brigs of ten guns, and drawing thirteen or fourteen feet of water, will be ordered to report to, and co-operate with you; but it is not probable that either of them, or the Flirt, will be on the coast to attend your advance movement. You cannot calculate upon any assistance from them for two or three weeks to come.* Nothing herein contained is in-

* The naval force did attend the movement of the army, and rendered assistance pursuant to general orders before issued from the Navy Department.

tended to revoke or modify the instructions heretofore given for aggressive operations on your part under the circumstances therein specified.

WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

To Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,
Commanding U. S. army in Texas.

LETTERS FROM THE ADJUTANT GENERAL TO GENERAL TAYLOR.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, September 13, 1845.

GENERAL : Your communications of the 29th and 30th ultimo, with accompanying "orders" 3 and 4, and "special orders" 5 and 6, have this day been received.

Your notice of the unwarrantable disclosure of the countersign to a person not entitled to it, by an officer of the camp, on the night of the 28th of August, and admonitory remarks on the occasion, it is hoped may have the desired effect ; but an offence of so grave a nature, for which the martial code provides the severest punishment, would seem to have called for an investigation by a general court martial.

The concentration of so large a portion of the army at Corpus Christi may afford you the opportunity, while resting upon your arms, of practising a regular system of field and camp instruction, according to the strictest principles and rules of the service ; and this I am instructed by the Secretary of War to say is the wish and expectation of the President. The general-in-chief does not doubt that all laid down in the general regulations, under the heads of "guards," "troops in campaign," "daily details and duties," and all other duties comprehended in the terms *discipline, police, inspection, &c.*, you will cause to be scrupulously observed by every corps and regiment, and all the officers and men under your command.

To perfect the organization of your staff, I am directed to say that you will please to appoint an acting inspector general for the army under your command, who should be an active, experienced field officer, a good disciplinarian, and one who will minutely observe and enforce the regulations and rules of the service.

You will please to see that the regulations which establish the "*dress*" of the army be duly observed by every officer ; and as the troops under your command will be organized, and, it may be presumed, will move only in battalions, regiments, brigades, or division, the excuses for their non-observance during the Florida service (in many instances unavoidable) will not, in the army of occupation, be so readily admitted.

I send herewith a copy of the estimated strength of the regular force ordered to Texas, prepared early in the month for the Secretary of War and the commanding general. The aggregate is 4,336, from which, as you will see, some three hundred are deducted on account of the various casualties incident to the service. This reduction would make the army of occupation, when all the troops *en route* shall have arrived, about 4,000.

No return of your command has yet been received for the month of

July, which, I suppose, may have been unavoidably delayed or miscarried. While on the subject of "monthly returns" and "reports," I respectfully refer you to paragraph 823, &c., of the army regulations.

The battalion of the 4th infantry, drawn from Fort Scott, appears to have been greatly delayed in its movement from St. Louis (where it arrived the 30th of July) to Corpus Christi, being nearly a month. The only report from the commander, Brevet Major Graham, is dated on board the steamer, August 3d, being then thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Ohio. What detention he may have met with in New Orleans is not known, nor has the day been reported when he joined the army of occupation. For the information of the War Department and the general-in-chief, you are requested to inquire into the cause or causes of the (apparently) extraordinary slow progress of the two companies, after their arrival at St. Louis.

I send herewith, by direction of the Secretary of War, for your information, a copy of his letter of instructions to Brevet Major General Gaines, commanding the western division, of this date.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adjutant General.*

To Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding army of occupation, Corpus Christi, Texas.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, Captain Page's report of the 28th ultimo has been received, by which it is seen that Brevet Major Graham's command reached the army in Texas the 26th of August.

R. J.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Washington, September 16, 1845.

GENERAL: The two companies of volunteer artillerists, mustered into the service by General Gaines, which were so unexpectedly sent to you by that officer from New Orleans, it is inferred from your despatch of the 26th August, will scarcely be longer required in your camp. If this be so, I am instructed by the Secretary of War to say that you will please cause them to be honorably discharged from the army, and sent home again to mingle with their friends and relatives, from whom a sense of duty to their country had so suddenly separated them.

It is understood that the United States schooner "On-ka-hy-e" has been ordered to ply regularly between Aransas bay and the city of Mobile; by which conveyance your despatches would, ordinarily, reach Washington one day sooner, it is said, than via New Orleans.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adjutant General.*

Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding army of occupation, Corpus Christi, Texas.

ADJUTANT'S GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, December 24, 1845.

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that, on the 16th instant, the United States steamer "Colonel Harney" was ordered to be transferred from the Navy to the War Department, and that measures have been taken by the Quartermaster's department to place her at your disposal, for the purpose of keeping up prompt and regular communication between New Orleans and the army at Corpus Christi. It is hoped that this arrangement will fully meet your views on the subject, as communicated in your letter of November 8, (No. 32,) and which I acknowledged on the 11th instant.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adj. General.*

Brig. General Z. TAYLOR,

Comm'dg army of occupation, Corpus Christi, Texas.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, February 26, 1846.

GENERAL: The Secretary of the Navy has despatched the sloop of war St. Mary's, with orders to be "put in communication with the army in Texas." I understand that the St. Mary's draws sixteen or seventeen feet, and I fear, therefore, she will not be suitable for the service, for which you require the presence of "a small armed vessel." I have communicated my opinion to the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adj. General.*

Brig. General Z. TAYLOR,

Comm'dg army of occupation, Corpus Christi, Texas.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, March 3, 1846.

SIR: Herewith I enclose you a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of War, dated the 2d instant, by which you will perceive that, since my letter of the 26th ultimo, informing you that the sloop of War "St. Mary's" has been ordered to be "put into communication with the army in Texas," two small vessels (the "Somers" and "Flirt") have been directed to "co-operate with the army in Texas."

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adj. General.*

Brevet Brig. General Z. TAYLOR,

Comm'dg army of occupation, Corpus Christi, Texas.

[Extract.]

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 8, 1846.

GENERAL: All the disposable recruits for the *general service* from New York and Newport, Ky., are *en route* for your army, which you will please to assign on their arrival to such regiments and companies as you may judge best. I regret to say that the number will but little exceed 200; to which 100 may be added at New Orleans from the regimental depots—in all, over 300 men. Every exertion has been made to push the recruiting service, but results show it has fallen off for several months past. Even in New York, where, usually, a large number are recruited, but few have entered; and at Albany, another good station, but one man enlisted in March.

* * * * *

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adj. General.*

Brevet Brig. General Z. TAYLOR,
Comm'dg army of Texas, Point Isabel, Texas.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 20, 1846.

GENERAL: Since my last acknowledgment of the 31st ultimo, the following despatches and orders have been received from your headquarters, viz:

Despatches, numbered from 22 to 25, inclusive;
“*Orders*,” from number 32 to 36, inclusive; and
“*Special orders*,” number 38.

Your despatch No. 16, and special orders No. 17, are still wanting to complete the series.

On the subject of recruits, required to fill the regiments in Texas, and to which you refer in your despatch of the 29th of March, I respectfully refer you to my letter of the 8th instant, which informed you that about 300 were *en route* for the army under your command, being every man that could be collected.

On the 18th, orders were despatched to send you four companies of the 1st infantry from Jefferson barracks, without delay, with a field officer to command the battalion.

This battalion will not be less than 250 strong, as the two remaining companies of the 1st infantry at Jefferson barracks have been broken up, and all the privates, except six, transferred to the marching companies to fill them up. The overplus will be attached as *supernumeraries* until the passage of the law to increase the rank and file, when they will be permanently incorporated with the four companies now ordered to Texas.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. JONES, *Adjutant General.*

Brevet Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,
*Commanding army of occupation,
Camp opposite Matamoras, Texas.*

DESPATCHES FROM GENERAL TAYLOR TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

HEADQUARTERS 1ST MILITARY DEPARTMENT,

New Orleans, La., July 20, 1845.

SIR : I respectfully acknowledge your communication of July 8, covering the instructions of the Secretary of War of the same date, relative to the Mexican settlements on this side of the Rio Grande. Those instructions will be closely obeyed ; and the department may rest assured that I will take no step to interrupt the friendly relations between the United States and Mexico. I am gratified at receiving these instructions, as they confirm my views, previously communicated, in regard to the proper line to be occupied at present by our troops.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Steamship Alabama, Aransas Pass, Texas, July 28, 1845.

SIR : I respectfully report my arrival at this place on the 25th instant, with eight companies of the 3d infantry, it having been found necessary to leave two companies of that regiment, to be brought over in other transports.

The troops are temporarily established on St. Joseph's island. I am waiting the report of a boat expedition sent to Corpus Christi bay before I determine on the site of an encampment. I hope to receive the necessary information in the course of the day, when I shall immediately commence the removal of the 3d infantry to the point selected. The position will probably be "Live Oak Point," in Aransas bay, some ten miles from our present position. I am very anxious to establish myself at the mouth of the Nueces, but the extreme shoalness of the water will, I fear, present an insuperable obstacle, unless we can procure lighters of much lighter draught than those we have at present.

The difficulties of effecting a debarkation on this coast, and of establishing depots for supplying the army, are much greater than I anticipated, and will render our operations at once embarrassing and expensive. Between Pass Cavallo and Brazos Santiago, there is no entrance for vessels drawing more than seven or eight feet ; and the prevailing winds render the operation of lightening extremely uncertain and hazardous. We have been favored with fine weather, and, should it continue, the other transports, which may now be expected, will be enabled to discharge without difficulty.

We had a very favorable run from New Orleans ; and I am happy to state that the health of the command was greatly improved by the voyage. The eight companies have scarcely any sickness at this time.

The day before leaving New Orleans, I received from Major Donelson a communication dated at Austin, on the 7th of July, informing me that

the convention had unanimously accepted the proposition of annexation, and suggesting that two companies should be posted at Austin. I still deem it best to concentrate my force until our relations with Mexico shall become settled, and until the country can be examined, and the best mode of supply ascertained.

I hear nothing important from the Mexican frontier. Some Indian depredations are committed from time to time near Corpus Christi, and will claim my first attention after I can get established.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, August 15, 1845.

SIR: I have the honor to report that, by New Orleans papers of the 7th instant, I have received intelligence of the preparatory steps taken by Mexico towards a declaration of war against the United States. I shall spare no exertions to meet suitably this probable change in the relations between the two countries; and the additional force ordered to join me, as announced in your communication of July 30, will, I trust, enable me to do something more than maintain a merely defensive attitude on the Nueces. This will depend upon the demonstrations made by Mexico along the Rio Grande, in regard to which the Secretary of War has solicited a report. I am enabled to say, upon information which is regarded as authentic, that General Arista was to leave Monterey on the 4th of this month for Matamoras with 1,500 men—500 being cavalry. I learn, from the same source, that there are 500 regular troops at Matamoras. In regard to the force at other points on the Rio Grande, except the militia of the country, I have no information; nor do I hear that the reported concentration at Matamoras is for any purpose of invasion. I have but just arrived at this place, and hope in a few days to be able to obtain more full and precise intelligence concerning the movements of the Mexicans. I shall not fail to communicate promptly to the department all such intelligence upon which I think reliance can be placed.

I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

P. S.—I enclose a sketch prepared by Lieut. Eaton, of Aransas and Corpus Christi bays, showing our intended depot, and also our present position—Fort Marcy.

Z. T.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, August 15, 1845.

SIR: I have deferred, perhaps, too long making a report of my operations since arriving on this coast; but I have been unwilling to speak only of difficulties attending the establishment of my force; and such and so many have been those difficulties, that not until this moment have I been able to report anything satisfactory in regard to our movements. After a careful examination—for the most part personal—of Aransas and Corpus Christi bays, I have settled upon this point west of the Nueces river, as the most favorable for present occupation, and have pushed forward the troops and supplies as rapidly as our means of transportation would permit. I am now enabled to report that the artillery, the 3d infantry, and seven companies of the 4th infantry, are in position here, well supplied with ammunition and provisions. One more company of the 4th (left temporarily at St. Joseph's island) will join in a day or two. Some works of defence are in progress; and if I succeed in procuring some light guns from the sloop of war *St. Mary's*, (for the field battery has not yet arrived,) I shall feel able to maintain my position against any Mexican force that can be brought against it. The arrival of Graham's companies of the 4th, of the 2d dragoons, and 7th infantry, will doubtless enable me to assume an offensive attitude should it become expedient.

Our last mail (which was saved with difficulty from the wreck of a schooner on the 13th instant) brought your communications of July 28 and 30—the latter enclosing a letter from the Secretary of War of the same date. I am gratified to find that my measures thus far have met the approbation of the government and general-in-chief, and, particularly, to find that I have but anticipated the wishes of the President in taking up a position west of the Nueces.

I have determined to establish my depot, for the present, on the point of St. Joseph's island, whence supplies can be thrown either into Corpus Christi or Aransas bay, as may become necessary. Owing to the shoalness of the water between the two bays, the transportation of troops and supplies has been attended with much delay and expense. Instructions have been given to the quartermaster in New Orleans to procure transports adapted to our purpose, on the arrival of which our supplies can be thrown forward with facility and economy.

Nothing has been heard from the 2d dragoons since they marched from Fort Jesup, except a rumor (which I really hope may prove unfounded) that Col. Twiggs had been taken sick, and was forced to turn back. I am very anxious for the arrival of this regiment, as its services are greatly needed for outposts and reconnoissances. I shall despatch an express to communicate with the regiment and ascertain its position and condition.

Graham's companies of the 4th infantry were daily expected in New Orleans at the last advices, and will, doubtless, sail about the same time with the 7th infantry. I shall bring all the infantry to this point except a suitable guard for the depot in my rear, and probably all the cavalry also, as I do not deem it prudent to detach in our existing relations with Mexico.

I am gratified to be able to report that the troops are more healthy than could reasonably be expected, considering their great exposure and the inferior quality of the water on the coast. The prevalent complaints are

not at all serious, and the command is, perhaps, more healthy than it would have been had it remained at Fort Jesup and vicinity.

The 4th infantry sailed from New Orleans under convoy of the "St. Mary's," sloop of war, Capt. Saunders. The "Falmouth," Capt. Sands, and "Lawrence," Capt. Jarvis, have also been off Aransas pass, and their commanders have communicated with me.

I take pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to these officers for valuable assistance which they have extended to us, and for the assurances of support and co-operation.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, August 19, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully enclose for the information of the department, a copy of a letter addressed by me to the President of Texas, and forwarded to him by special express on the 17th instant. I have deemed it proper to make this communication to President Jones, in consequence of the desire manifested by the authorities of Texas to have a garrison established at once at Austin. As I cannot consent to detach any portion of my command while a superior Mexican force is probably concentrating in my front, and as I still feel bound to extend every assistance compatible with a successful prosecution of the main object of the expedition, towards putting the frontier in a suitable state of defence, I have judged it prudent to make the suggestions and recommendations which you will find in the enclosed letter. Trusting that they will meet the approbation of the War Department,

I remain, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, August 16, 1845.

SIR: I have the honor to report my arrival at this place, in obedience to the special instructions from the War Department, of which you have already been apprized by my letter of July 20th to the Secretary of War and Marine.

One company of artillery and a brigade of infantry are now in position here, and will soon be reinforced by seven companies of dragoons and an additional regiment of infantry.

You have undoubtedly received intelligence of the hostile steps taken by Mexico, and the probable declaration of war against us by that power.

Under these circumstances, I do not deem it prudent to detach any portion of my force at present, and it is the principal object of this communication to recommend that any volunteers or spies now in the service of Texas be continued in employment, should you consider it necessary for the defence of the frontier. If you concur in this view, I will at your instance despatch an officer to muster into the service of the United States any companies which you may designate as necessary for the security of the frontier, to conform in numbers and organization to the laws of the United States. Should such musters be made, I will recommend that the officers and men while in service continue to receive the same rate of pay which they have drawn from the Texan government.

My presence, and that of my command, is now imperatively required on this frontier. When our relations with Mexico, and the state of the service in this quarter, shall permit my absence, I will take great pleasure in proceeding to the seat of government, and conferring with you personally in relation to the proper dispositions to be made for the permanent occupation of the frontier.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

His Excellency ANSON JONES,

President of Texas, Washington, Texas.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, August 20, 1845.

SIR : I beg leave to call your attention to the condition of the artillery company serving in this army, in regard to the number of men soon to be discharged, and the necessity of supplying their places as early in the autumn as practicable. From an official report of Lieutenant Bragg, it appears that twelve men will be discharged by the end of November, there being now fifty enlisted men in the company. There will thus at the end of November be fourteen vacancies in the company, unless some re-enlistments should reduce the number, upon which we cannot reckon with any certainty. To render a company efficient with four pieces, sixty men are required; to complete which number, should the general-in-chief see fit to add a detachment to the company for this service, twenty-two recruits will be required.

The great importance of keeping this small force in an efficient condition, will excuse me for urging the necessity of sending out good recruits to the company as soon as the advanced season will render it safe to pass through New Orleans.

The field battery, much to my regret, has not yet arrived. I could get no guns of suitable caliber from the "St. Mary's" sloop of war, but have procured three pieces indifferently equipped, and a small supply of ammunition, from the citizens of this place. These guns add materially to our strength in case we should be attacked here, which I do not anticipate, but they are not fit for field service. I cannot doubt that our battery will arrive before it shall become necessary for us to move.

The 2d dragoons are to-day at Goliad, on the San Antonio river, and

will arrive at San Patricio on the 23d, where I expect to meet them. The officers and men are generally well, and the horses are in quite as good condition as we could expect. We have no news of the 7th, or Graham's companies, of the 4th.

Caravans of traders arrive occasionally from the Rio Grande, but bring no news of importance. They represent that there are no regular troops on that river except at Matamoras, and do not seem to be aware of any preparations for a demonstration on this bank of the river. I still deem it my duty to look to the possibility of such an event, and to prepare for a forward movement, should circumstances require it.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, August 26, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully acknowledge the receipt of your communications of August 6 and 9—the former by the hands of Lieut. Ringgold, who arrived here yesterday. A duplicate of the despatch of the 6th has also been received by mail, as well as general orders Nos. 37 and 38.

In regard to employing volunteers from Texas, you will perceive that I have in part anticipated the wishes of the government in my letter of the 16th instant to President Jones, a copy of which was furnished you on the 19th. In that communication I looked only to the defence of the frontier against Indian aggressions, but I shall now communicate with President Jones, and ascertain the number of volunteers that can be called into service in case of an invasion by Mexico, and shall take the necessary steps to arm and employ that force should the safety of the country require it. I feel confident, however, that such necessity will not arise. The three companies of dragoons from Fort Washita will afford adequate protection to the country about Austin, and will, I doubt not, enable us ultimately to dispense even with the very small irregular force now in service in that quarter.

Judging from the best information I can obtain as to the future wants of the service on this frontier, looking more particularly to the possibility of an invasion of the soil of Texas by Mexican troops, I deem the force soon to be under my orders, viz: four batteries of field artillery, one regiment of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry, to be fully adequate to meet any crisis that may arise. The ordnance and ordnance stores already shipped are ample for all our purposes, unless indeed it should become necessary to invest Matamoras, in which case a battering train of heavier caliber would be required. A moderate supply of pontoons and ponton wagons might greatly facilitate any active operations in this country, where it is next to impossible to bridge the streams, owing to the scarcity of timber.

I have received special orders Nos. 66 and 68, assigning officers of the engineers, topographical engineers, and ordnance to my command: two

of those officers, Lieutenants Scarritt and Kingsbury, have already reported with promptness. Our greatest want has been, and still is, a strong and efficient corps of quartermasters. Captain Cross was necessarily sent with the dragoons, though under orders from his own department, which would have retained him at Fort Jesup. I do not consider him as properly belonging to my command, and shall relieve him from duty on the arrival of the dragoons. We shall then have four regiments in camp, without one quartermaster on duty with them. I am informed that Captains Myers and Ketchum have been ordered to join me, but it does not seem unreasonable to request that, in addition to a proper supply of captains, a field officer of rank and efficiency be despatched to assume direction of that important branch of the public service.

Five companies of the 7th infantry have arrived at St. Joseph's island, and will join me in a day or two. Graham's companies have also arrived, and we have reason to expect three companies from Pensacola in a few days. Two companies of volunteer artillery, mustered into service by General Gaines, have reported to me very unexpectedly; and as I have made no application for this force, and do not deem it necessary, I am placed in a rather embarrassing situation. As they are now here, I think it best, on the whole, to retain them for a short period, perhaps until the arrival of our own artillery, when they can be handsomely discharged and sent home.

I met the dragoons at San Patricio on the 24th, and was much pleased with their efficient condition. They have found ample supplies of forage and water, and the horses are in excellent flesh, most of them being now fit for any service. The regiment will probably join me here to-morrow.

I regret to learn that the most false and exaggerated rumors have prevailed in New Orleans in relation to reported disasters encountered by this command. These rumors are not only calculated to cause much pain and anxiety in the community, but also to entail a heavy and needless expense upon the government in procuring the muster of volunteers, &c. I beg you to understand that, even with the small force originally under my command, I have had too much confidence in my officers and men to feel any apprehension of serious disaster.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington City.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, August 30, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully report the arrival at this point of seven companies of the 7th infantry under Major Brown, and two companies of volunteer artillery under Major Gally. Major Seawell's company, I am informed, was ordered back to Baton Rouge by General Gaines, and some small detachments of that regiment were also left at several posts. I have retained one company as a guard for the depot at St. Joseph's island.

The battalion of volunteer artillery has a fine battery of eight pieces—two twelves and six sixes, completely equipped in every respect. The officers are zealous, and the men seem to be quite well instructed in their duties. In case of need, I look for valuable service from this battalion.

I have just received a communication from President Jones, under date of the 23d instant, notifying me that he had taken preparatory steps towards organizing a volunteer force of 1,000 men to assist me if necessary. This matter will form the subject of a special communication to your office in a few days.

Apprehending that the erroneous impressions current in New Orleans in regard to our situation might induce General Gaines to order the muster of a battalion or brigade of infantry, I addressed a communication to his staff officer by the steamship Alabama, expressing my thanks for the reinforcement of the volunteer battalion of artillery, but with the hope that no more volunteers would be sent without a requisition from me. That communication will reach New Orleans to night or to-morrow, in time, I trust, to stop the employment of any more volunteers.

We have no news from the Rio Grande. Idle stories are brought in from that quarter, but with the means of accurate information which we now possess, I do not deem it necessary to repeat them.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, September 6, 1845.

SIR: I have the honor to report that a confidential agent, despatched some days since to Matamoras, has returned, and reports that no extraordinary preparations are going forward there; that the garrison does not seem to have been increased, and that our consul is of opinion there will be no declaration of war. A decree had been issued, prohibiting, under the penalty of death, any communication, by writing, across the frontier—a precaution, which has been adopted on former occasions, and caused, no doubt, by our presence here. Nothing definite can be learned in relation to the march of troops from the interior. A body of 3,000 men was reported in march to Matamoras, but the information is too vague to merit much confidence. The agent, who is intelligent, and upon whose statements a good deal of reliance may, I think, be safely placed, says that the mass of the people, with whom he mingled, is opposed to a war with us, and that if war be declared, the frontier departments of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo Leon, will probably declare themselves independent of the central government, and establish pacific relations with us.

This is the substance of the information brought from Matamoras. Notwithstanding its character, I shall not relax my exertions to prepare for active operations and a state of war with Mexico. I must express the

hope that no militia force will be ordered to join me without my requisition for it. I am entirely confident that none will be required.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brigadier General U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, September 14, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully acknowledge the following communications from the Secretary of War—one of August 23, conveying the instructions of the department in relation to the employment of volunteers from the United States; one of August 26, enclosing copies of circulars to the governors of Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi; and two of August 30, giving further instructions for my government, and enclosing copies of instructions to Commodore Conner, and of a letter of August 28 to Major General Gaines; also, your communications of August 26 and 30, enclosing a copy of the same letter to General Gaines, and desiring more frequent communications from my headquarters.

I now regret that I suffered the interval between July 28 and August 15 to elapse without making any report to your office; but I was incessantly occupied, during that time, in examining the country, and afterwards in making an establishment at this point, and could not have reported anything important, of a positive nature, until my arrival here. Could I have imagined the possibility of such extravagant rumors as prevailed in New Orleans, and, above all, that they could gain credence in the public mind, when the same means of communication brought no report from me, I would certainly have apprized the department, by every opportunity, of our operations, unimportant as they might have seemed. No intelligence, worthy of credit, was received from the Rio Grande, until just before my report of August 15. Since that date I have kept the department advised, at short intervals, of our situation and the news from the frontier.

In view of the large reinforcements of regular troops ordered to join me, I cannot believe that it will become necessary, under any circumstances, to employ volunteers from the United States. In reply to my communication, of August 16, to President Jones, a copy of which was forwarded to your office, the President indicated a few companies of rangers, amounting, in all, to about 300 men, as proper to be mustered into service for the protection of the frontier. I have accordingly given orders for the muster of one company at Austin, and one at Bexar. A company at this place, and one at Goliad, are designated by the President, and will be mustered when their enrolment is completed. Three small detachments, of 30 men each, are to be considered in service, but cannot, from their position, be conveniently mustered at present. It will be recollected that when I addressed the President of Texas on this subject, I could not anticipate the transfer of dragoons from Fort Washita; and although two of the companies, indicated above, might, perhaps, be dis-

pensed with, I think it best, from motives of policy, to retain them for three months, the term for which all are to be mustered. You will see from my "special orders," No. 14, that I have directed two of the three companies from Red River to San Antonio, retaining one at Austin. With a company of mounted rangers at each place, the frontier will be secure from insult. The commander of the rangers at San Antonio, Major Hays, has reputation as a partisan, and to him I have specially intrusted the duty of keeping me advised of any movements on the Rio Grande in the neighborhood of Laredo, with strict injunctions, however, to molest no Mexican establishments on this side of the river. Should San Antonio be seriously menaced, it can be readily succored from this point. A route will be immediately opened hence to San Antonio. I would at once put a larger force in that town, but for the difficulty of supplying it.

An examination is now making by an officer of engineers of the country in our front, chiefly to select suitable sites for encampments, should it become necessary to winter in this neighborhood. The great scarcity of wood will render it necessary, in that case, to change our position. Reconnoissances will soon be made of the Nueces river and the Laguna Madre, to ascertain their navigability, and the facility of establishing depots in the event of a forward movement to the Rio Grande.

We have no news of interest from the frontier. Arista, at the last accounts, was at Mier, but without any force; nor is there, as yet, any concentration of troops on the river. A report reached San Antonio, a few days since, that preparations were making to receive troops at Laredo. This I consider very doubtful; but if troops arrive there, I shall expect to receive early information of the fact from San Antonio.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brigadier General U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, October 4, 1845.

SIR: I beg leave to suggest some considerations in relation to the present position of our force, and the dispositions which may become necessary for the more effectual prosecution of the objects for which it has been concentrated. It will be recollected that the instructions of June 15, issued by Mr. Bancroft, then acting Secretary of War, directed me to "select and occupy, on or near the Rio Grande, such a site as will consist with the health of the troops, and will be best adapted to repel invasion," &c. Brazos Santiago is the nearest entrance to the mouth of the Rio Grande; and Point Isabel, within that entrance, and twenty-one miles from Matamoras, would have fulfilled more completely than any other position the conditions imposed by the Secretary. But we had no artillery, no engineer force or appliances, and but a moderate amount of infantry; and the occupation of Point Isabel, under these circumstances, and with at least the possibility of resistance from the Mexicans, might have compromised the safety of the command. I therefore determined to

take up the next accessible position in the rear, which is the mouth of the Nueces river. All the information which I could obtain before leaving New Orleans, seemed to point to Corpus Christi as the most suitable point for concentration; and, although before the President's instructions of July 30 reached me, I would have preferred a position on the left bank of the river, yet a careful examination of the country had already convinced me that none could be found combining so many advantages as this. Every day's experience has confirmed these impressions. Corpus Christi is healthy, easily supplied, and well situated to hold in observation the course of the Rio Grande from Matamoras to Laredo—being about 150 miles from several points on the river. I have reason to believe, moreover, that a salutary moral effect has been exercised upon the Mexicans. Their traders are continually carrying home the news of our position and increasing numbers, and are confessedly struck by the spectacle of a large camp of well-appointed and disciplined troops, accompanied by perfect security to their persons and property, instead of the impressment and pillage to which they are subject in their own country. For these reasons, our position thus far has, I think, been the best possible; but, now that the entire force will soon be concentrated, it may well be a question whether the views of government will be best carried out by our remaining at this point. It is with great deference that I make any suggestions on topics which may become matter of delicate negotiation; but if our government, in settling the question of boundary, makes the line of the Rio Grande an ultimatum, I cannot doubt that the settlement will be greatly facilitated and hastened by our taking possession at once of one or two suitable points on or quite near that river. Our strength and state of preparation should be displayed in a manner not to be mistaken. However salutary may be the effect produced upon the border people by our presence here, we are too far from the frontier to impress the government of Mexico with our readiness to vindicate, by force of arms, if necessary, our title to the country as far as the Rio Grande. The "army of occupation" will, in a few days, be concentrated at this point, in condition for vigorous and efficient service. Mexico having as yet made no positive declaration of war, or committed any overt act of hostilities, I do not feel at liberty, under my instructions, particularly those of July 8, to make a forward movement to the Rio Grande without authority from the War Department.

In case a forward movement should be ordered or authorized, I would recommend the occupation of Point Isabel and Laredo as best adapted to the purposes of observing the course of the river and covering the frontier settlements of Texas. Point Isabel is accessible by water, and can be safely occupied by two brigades of infantry, with a suitable force of field artillery. On the arrival of the steamer Harney, I shall order a careful reconnoissance of Brazos Santiago, as a necessary preliminary measure to the occupation of Point Isabel. To occupy Laredo will require a land march from this point. Supplies may probably be transported by water as high as San Patricio, and possibly to the junction of the Rio Frio with the Nueces. I propose to establish a depot on the Nueces river, probably at the crossing of the San Antonio and Laredo road, from which to operate towards the Rio Grande. You will perceive from my "special orders" No. 24 that a reconnoissance has been ordered in

that direction. A brigade of infantry, with the cavalry, and a battery or two of field artillery, will be sufficient for the occupation of Laredo. That town is on the left bank of the Rio Grande, and possesses the military advantage of holding in observation the main route from the interior of Mexico through Monterey to Matamoras.

In case it should be found impracticable to establish a suitable depot on the Nueces, the entire force, after strengthening San Antonio, might be thrown forward to Point Isabel, where it could be readily supplied, and held in readiness for any further service.

I have deemed it my duty to make the above suggestions. Should they be favorably considered, and instructions based upon them, I will thank you to send the latter in duplicate to Lieut. Colonel Hunt—one copy to be despatched *direct*, without delay; the other to be sent via Galveston, should a steamer be running to that port from New Orleans.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

P. S.—It is proper to add, that, should any auxiliary force be required, I propose to draw it wholly from Texas. I do not conceive that it will become necessary, under any circumstances, to call for volunteers from the United States.

Z. T.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, October 11, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully report the arrival at St. Joseph's island, on the 9th instant, of five companies of the 5th infantry, under Lieut. Col. McIntosh, two companies of the 8th infantry, under Capt. Montgomery, and one company of the 7th infantry, under Brevet Major Seawell. Lieut. Col. McIntosh's command (of 17 officers and 239 men) arrived here to-day. These troops are in good health, and complete the entire number ordered to this coast. I feel a satisfaction, which I cannot doubt will be shared by the department, in being able thus to report the completion, without disaster or notable accident, of the transfer of so many bodies of troops from remote points to this coast at an unfavorable season of the year.

Lieut. Col. Payne will be announced in orders to-morrow as acting inspector general of this army. I shall assign Major Ewing to the command of the field batteries, leaving Brevet Lieut. Col. Childs in command of the battalion of artillery companies in the 1st brigade.

In regard to the discharge of the volunteer artillery from New Orleans, I would respectfully remark that their term of service will soon be drawing to a close; and as their service here has been most creditable to them in every respect, and they would feel a mortification in being summarily discharged, I would ask leave to retain them until such a time as will allow them to reach New Orleans by the expiration of the period for which they were mustered.

You will, I hope, readily appreciate the motives of policy which may,

in the long run, render their detention an absolute benefit to the public service. I need hardly say that I much regretted their employment in the first instance; but, under all the circumstances of the case, I think it best to keep them for the short period of their term which yet remains. The excellence of their discipline and instruction has won the most favorable opinions from the officers here.

Recent arrivals from the Rio Grande bring no news or information of a different aspect from that which I reported in my last. The views expressed in previous communications relative to the pacific disposition of the border people on both sides of the river are continually confirmed.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, October 15, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully enclose the return of the army of occupation for July. At the end of that month all the corps of the army had not reached Texas, some of them being yet at sea; which is the reason that no return was furnished at the proper time.

All the troops destined for this point are now in position here, except Major Ringgold's company, which is expected daily from St. Joseph's Island. The morning report of to-day exhibits an aggregate present of 3,733, which Ringgold's company and an absent detachment of cavalry will increase to 3,860. Capt. Burk's company remains as a guard at St. Joseph's island.

Three hundred recruits are now wanted in the regiments and detachments here; which number, I can hardly doubt, will be increased to nearly five hundred by the close of the year. I hope measures may be taken to supply the requisite number of recruits, or as many as can be spared, from the depot.

The utmost activity prevails in the instruction of the brigades and regiments. Col. Whistler's brigade commenced to-day with evolutions of the line, and will be followed by the others as rapidly as possible. Several of the regiments have been so long cut up in small detachments as to render it necessary to dwell for some time upon the school of the battalion before proceeding to the higher manœuvres.

I have nothing of interest to report from the frontier.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, November 7, 1845.

SIR: I respectfully enclose a copy of a letter from Commodore Conner, commanding the home squadron, which I received by the "Saratoga," sloop of war, on the 5th instant. The intelligence communicated by the commodore will, doubtless, reach the seat of government long before the receipt of this letter.

The communication from the Secretary of War, dated October 16, was received and acknowledged on the 1st and 2d instant. I purposely deferred a detailed reply to the various points embraced in that communication until I could receive an answer to mine, of October 4, which covered (at least in part) the same ground. The intelligence from Mexico, however, tends to modify, in some degree, the views expressed in that communication. The position now occupied by the troops may, perhaps, be the best while negotiations are pending, or at any rate until a disposition shall be manifested by Mexico to protract them unreasonably. Under the supposition that such may be the view of the department, I shall make no movement from this point, except for the purpose of examining the country, until further instructions are received. You will perceive, from my orders, that reconnoissances are almost constantly in the field, the officers of engineers and topographical engineers rendering valuable service on those duties. I refer you to the reports made by those officers to the chiefs of their own bureaux for the information which is thus procured in relation to the country. An examination of the harbor of Brazos Santiago will be ordered in a few days—as soon as a proper vessel shall become disposable for that service.

In case no movement is made this season towards the Rio Grande, I may find it necessary to detach a portion of the army a short distance into the interior, where wood can be more readily procured than here. But in no case do I deem it necessary to hut the troops. Sheds, with platforms, on which to pitch the tents, were extensively used in camps of position in Florida, and will, I cannot doubt, form a sufficient protection here.

On the hypothesis of an early adjustment of the boundary, and the consequent establishment of permanent frontier posts, I cannot urge too strongly upon the department the necessity of occupying those posts before the warm weather shall set in. A large amount of sickness is, I fear, to be apprehended, with every precaution that can be taken; but the information which I obtain leads me to believe that a summer movement would be attended with great expense of health and life. As in Florida, the winter is the best season for operations in Texas.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

U. S. SHIP FALMOUTH,
Off Vera Cruz, October 24, 1845.

GENERAL : I hasten to inform you that the Mexican government has accepted the proposal made by that of our country to arrange the existing difficulties by negotiation. This information left here for Washington yesterday by Mr. Parrott, and we may consequently soon expect an envoy to be sent out from the United States. I deem it advisable you should be thus early apprized of this change in the state of our relations.

No troops have marched towards the frontier for a length of time ; and I am told by Mr. Parrott, who left Mexico a few days since, that many of Arista's officers had returned to that city in a state of utter poverty.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

D. CONNER,
Commanding Home Squadron.

Brig. Gen. TAYLOR,
Commanding Army of Occupation.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, November 8, 1845.

SIR : I beg leave to call your attention to the present condition of our communications with the United States.

While in New Orleans, I represented the necessity of a despatch vessel—a steamer, if practicable—to ply between our position and New Orleans. I was informed from your office under date of July 30th, that measures had been taken to supply the want, and under date of August 23d, from the War Office, that the “*On-ka-hy-e*,” the “*Harney*,” and the “*Dolphin*,” would be put into service as despatch vessels for the above purpose. Of all these vessels, the “*On-ka-hy-e*” alone has reported to me ; and her degree of utility for this particular service may be judged from the fact that she sailed from Aransas pass more than a month since for Mobile and New Orleans, and has not yet returned. In fact, she is a dull sailer, and wholly unfit for the purposes for which she was sent out. By a report received yesterday from the commander of the “*Harney*,” it appears that she is now lying in the Mississippi river, and that her boiler is in such condition that it is deemed entirely unsafe for her to go to sea. Of the “*Dolphin*” I have heard nothing.

It thus appears that the means provided for keeping up a regular and frequent communication with the army of occupation have proved totally inadequate. The necessity of such a communication is now much greater than when I first addressed you on the subject, and I must respectfully request that some efficient arrangement be made by which our mails may be received and sent with at least tolerable regularity. For this purpose it is necessary to have a good seagoing steamer entirely under the control of the quartermaster's department. If the “*Harney*,” or the “*General Taylor*,” which once belonged to that department, can be returned to it again, I have little doubt that either of them would answer the purpose. New Orleans should by all means be the port of departure—and the public freight which a vessel of the kind could bring, would go far to pay her expenses.

In the event of a forward movement to the Rio Grande with any possibility of hostile operations, a small armed vessel would be indispensable to cover the depot which would in that case be established at Brazos San-
togo, as well as our landing at that point. And I would suggest at any rate, that until the most perfect friendly relations are again established with Mexico, a naval vessel of the above description be placed under my orders.

I have to acknowledge your communication of October 20th, with enclosures relative to a charge against Brevet Major Beall; copy of your communication of October 21st to late Lieutenant Quimby, 7th infantry; certificate of disability in the case of Sergeant Branton, company B, 2d dragoons; "general orders" No. 48, and "special orders" Nos. 101 and 102.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, November 19, 1845.

SIR: By a report from Major Fauntleroy, 2d dragoons, commanding at San Antonio, dated the 1st instant, it appears that, upon the requisition, or at the suggestion of a Major Neighbors, represented to be an "Indian agent" under the government of Texas, he despatched a party from his command, on the 30th of October, under the direction of said agent, to arrest some Camanches who were in the Lipan camp, not far from San Antonio, and who were reported by the Lipans to have committed some depredations near Corpus Christi. The Camanches suffered themselves to be taken without resistance, but afterwards suddenly broke from the guard, and made their escape. The guard, agreeably to orders, fired upon them, and wounded two of the number, there being six or eight in all.

This circumstance is greatly to be regretted, and may be the germ of serious difficulty on the Indian frontier. My instructions to Major Fauntleroy have been very pointed—to exercise great caution in all matters relating to alleged Indian depredations. In the present case, the reports against the Camanches were entirely false—at least, no depredations have been committed by them near Corpus Christi, to my knowledge; and, even if true, Major Fauntleroy had no evidence of the facts sufficiently strong to warrant him in the course he took. The moment that the service will permit my absence from the main army here, I shall visit San Antonio and Austin, with a view to adopt such measures as may be required by the public interest in that quarter. In the meantime, I shall give such instructions to Major Fauntleroy as will prevent a recurrence of such hasty and ill-judged proceedings hereafter.

I have already reported to the department the steps which I have found it necessary to take for the protection of the Indian frontier of Texas; and that I deemed it advisable for that purpose to muster into service a

few companies of rangers. These companies were mustered into service for three months; and their respective terms will expire about the end of the year. Should the present pacific aspect of our Mexican relations continue, it will not be necessary to continue this force in service, except possibly one company as guides. It will then become necessary to strengthen the regular force on the frontier; and, to avoid useless marches and expense, I would respectfully ask to be informed, if consistent with propriety, what corps are destined for the permanent occupation of Texas on a peace establishment. Such corps can then be placed in position at once, at a time when they are most wanted, and when they can establish posts with least prejudice to health. San Antonio, Austin, and, perhaps, an intermediate point on the Guadalupe, must be military stations; and the sooner they are occupied by the regular garrisons who are destined for that service, the better. A large force of cavalry cannot be sustained on the frontier without very heavy expense at this time; and I would not at present add more than one to the number of companies already there. Infantry may be subsisted at a comparatively small rate. Recent arrivals from the Rio Grande bring no news whatever.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, January 7, 1846.

SIR: For the information of the general-in-chief and War Department, I make the following extract from a private letter lately received at this place from our consul at Matamoras, and dated December 24, 1845:

"Our accounts from the interior are, that General Paredes, at San Luis, is about rising against the government; it is given out that he and his party are against treating with the United States. Our minister, Mr. John Slidell, of New Orleans, has arrived at Mexico; so, if the revolution does not break out, we shall shortly have a treaty, I hope. General Arista rests quiet, to see, perhaps, what success attends General Paredes. In this part of the country the people are in favor of peace, and, I should judge, of a treaty with the United States, but a considerable excitement has been produced by the news from General Paredes.

* * * * *

"A little schooner (the *Susanna*, of New Orleans,) has come in here in distress. She was seized by our custom-house, and the captain was imprisoned, but is released upon bail. I have forwarded some documents to Mexico respecting her."

We have intelligence from Matamoras as late as the 1st instant, to the effect that a courier had arrived from the interior, bringing the news that Paredes, with a large force, was within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico; that much excitement prevailed in Matamoras in favor of Paredes, and against Herrera. It is also stated that the officers of the garrison

had declared for Paredes. I look with great anxiety for further news from Mexico.

The above intelligence is received from Matamoras. We have many arrivals from other points on the river, but they bring no intelligence of interest. A recent scout of volunteers from San Antonio struck the river near Presidio, Rio Grande, and the commander reports everything quiet in that quarter.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, February 4, 1846.

SIR: I respectfully acknowledge the communication of the Secretary of War, dated January 13th, and containing the instructions of the President to move forward with my force to the Rio Grande. I shall lose no time in making the necessary preparations for carrying out those instructions.

The occupation of Point Isabel or Brazos Santiago as a depot will be indispensable. That point and a position on or near the river opposite Matamoras will I think answer all present purposes. At any rate, I shall not separate my force further until the position of affairs shall render it entirely safe to do so.

I propose to abandon this position entirely, as soon after our march as the stores, hospital, &c., can be transferred to St. Joseph's island. It will be necessary to keep up an establishment at that point for the present, although our supplies will come to Point Isabel direct from New Orleans.

In reply to the call of the Secretary for information as to what means, if any, will be required "to enforce and maintain our common right to navigate" the Rio Grande, I would respectfully state that, until I reach the river and ascertain the condition of things in the frontier States of Mexico, temper of the people, &c., I cannot give any satisfactory answer to the question. I have every reason to believe that the people residing on the river are well disposed towards our government. Our advance to the Rio Grande will itself produce a powerful effect, and it may be that the common navigation of the river will not be disputed. It is very important to us, and will be indispensable when posts are established higher up, as must ultimately be the case.

I shall not call for any militia force in addition to what I already have, unless unforeseen circumstances shall render its employment necessary.

I beg leave again to call the attention of the department to the necessity of having our movement and position at Brazos Santiago covered by a small armed vessel. I deem this vitally important, and hope it will meet with favorable consideration.

We have no news from the interior of Mexico more recent than that derived from the New Orleans papers of the 26th January.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, February 16, 1846.

SIR: I respectfully report that I received last evening by the sloop-of-war "St. Mary's" a communication from Commodore Conner, commanding the home squadron, dated the 4th instant, in which he announces his intention to proceed with the squadron to Vera Cruz, and desires to know in what way he can co-operate with the land forces under my command. I have informed the commodore that I am about to move to the Rio Grande under instructions from the Department of War, and have desired him to give me the support of one or two small vessels to assist us, if necessary, in taking possession of Brazos Santiago, and at all events to cover the establishment of a depot at that point. I deem this co-operation very opportune and necessary, and am gratified to obtain it. Commodore Conner will be enabled at the same time to communicate directly with me and furnish the latest intelligence from Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico.

Examinations are now in progress of the two routes to Point Isabel—that by the main land and that by Padre island. The reports of the officers charged with them will determine the route of march. Our train, which is necessarily very heavy, is rapidly organizing, and we shall be able to commence the movement about the 1st of March.

Many reports will doubtless reach the department, giving exaggerated accounts of Mexican preparations to resist our advance, if not indeed to attempt an invasion of Texas. Such reports have been circulated even at this place, and owe their origin to personal interests connected with the stay of the army here. I trust that they will receive no attention at the War Department. From the best information I am able to obtain, and which I deem as authentic as any, I do not believe that our advance to the banks of the Rio Grande will be resisted. The army, however, will go fully prepared for a state of hostilities should they unfortunately be provoked by the Mexicans.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, February 26, 1846.

SIR: I have to report that the preparations for a forward movement of this command are now nearly completed. The examinations spoken of in

my report of the 16th instant have shown the practicability of both routes—by the main land and by Padre island. The reconnoissance of Padre island extended to its southern extremity, and included the harbor of Brazos Santiago and Point Isabel; that of the main route reached to a point near the Little Colorado. A depot, with four days' forage, and subsistence for the army, will be thrown forward some forty miles, to the Santa Gertrudes. A detachment of two companies, to establish and cover this depot, will march, on the 28th, under Brevet Major Graham. In about a week thereafter, say the 7th of March, the cavalry will march, to be followed, at intervals of one day, by the brigades of infantry. By the 25th of March, at latest, I hope to be in position on the Rio Grande.

I have taken occasion to represent to some citizens of Matamoras, who were here with a large number of mules for sale, and who are represented to have considerable influence at home, that the United States government, in occupying the Rio Grande, has no motive of hostility towards Mexico, and that the army will, in no case, go beyond the river, unless hostilities should be commenced by the Mexicans themselves; that the Mexicans, living on this side, will not be disturbed in any way by the troops; that they will be protected in all their rights and usages; and that everything which the army may need will be purchased from them at fair prices. I also stated that, until the matter should be finally adjusted between the two governments, the harbor of Brazos Santiago would be open to the free use of the Mexicans as heretofore. The same views were impressed upon the Mexican custom-house officer at Brazos Santiago by Captain Hardee, who commanded the escort which covered the reconnoissance of Padre island.

We are entirely without news of interest from the frontier, or the interior of Mexico, our latest date from the capital being the 21st of January, and the same from Vera Cruz.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brigadier General U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Corpus Christi, Texas, March 8, 1846.

SIR: I respectfully report that the advance of the army, composed of the cavalry and Major Ringgold's light artillery, the whole under the command of Colonel Twiggs, took up the line of march this morning in the direction of Matamoras, its strength being 23 officers and 378 men. The advance will be followed in succession by the brigades of infantry, the last brigade marching on the 11th instant. The roads are in good order, the weather fine, and the troops in excellent condition for service.

Major Munroe will embark for Brazos Santiago in season to reach that harbor about the time the army will be in the vicinity of Point Isabel. He takes with him a siege train and a field battery. Captain Sanders, of the engineers, the officers of ordnance, and the pay department, accompany Major Munroe.

The movement, by water, to Brazos Santiago, will be covered by the revenue cutter "Woodbury," Captain Foster, whose commander has kindly placed her at my disposal for this service.

All proper arrangements have been made by the staff departments for supplying the army on the route, as well as establishing a depot for its further wants at Point Isabel.

I have deemed it proper to cause my "orders" No. 30 to be translated into Spanish, and circulated on the Rio Grande. Sixty copies have already been sent in advance of the army to Matamoras, Comargo, and Mier. This form of giving publicity to the spirit which actuates our movement in occupying the country, I thought preferable to a proclamation. I trust the order itself will meet the approval of the department. A few copies of the translation are herewith enclosed.

I shall again communicate with general headquarters before I march, and I expect to do so at least once on the route.

My headquarters will march with the rear brigade, but will soon pass to the advance of the army.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL *of the Army,*

Washington, D. C.

QUARTEL GENERAL, EJERCITO DE OCUPACION,
Corpus Christi, 8 de Marzo, de 1846.

Orden, No. 30.

El ejercito de ocupacion en Tejas, estando ya para tomar posición sobre la banda izquierda del Rio Grande, bajo las ordenes del Ejecutivo de los Estados Unidos, el general en jefe desea espresar la esperanza que el movimiento sera provechoso á todos los interesados, y para cumplir exactamente con un fin tan laudable, ha mandado á todos de su mando, que mantengap, bajo el mas escrupuloso respeto, los derechos de los habitantes que se encuentren en ocupacion pacifico de sus respectivos avocaciones, tanto sobre la banda izquierda, como la derecha del Rio Grande. Bajo ningun pretesto, ni de cualesquiera manera, se ha de entrometer en los derechos civiles, ni los privilegios religiosos de los habitantes; pero siempre mantendra el mayor respeto á ambos.

Cualesquiera cosa que se necesite para el gasto del ejercito, será comprado por el proveedor, y pagado á los mejores precios. El general en jefe tiene la satisfaccion de decir, que tiene confianza en el patriotismo y la diciplina del ejercito bajo su mando, y está seguro de que sus ordenes serán obedecidos con la mayor exactitud.

Z. TAYLOR,

Bt. Bd. General en Jefe, ejercito de los Estados Unidos.

[Translation.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, March 8, 1846.

Order No. 30.

The army of occupation of Texas being now about to take a position upon the left bank of the Rio Grande, under the orders of the Executive of the United States, the general-in-chief desires to express the hope that the movement will be advantageous to all concerned; and with the object of attaining this laudable end, he has ordered all under his command to observe, with the most scrupulous respect, the rights of all the inhabitants who may be found in peaceful prosecution of their respective occupations, as well on the left as on the right side of the Rio Grande. Under no pretext, nor in any way, will any interference be allowed with the civil rights or religious privileges of the inhabitants; but the utmost respect for them will be maintained.

Whatsoever may be needed for the use of the army will be bought by the proper purveyor, and paid for at the highest prices. The general-in-chief has the satisfaction to say that he confides in the patriotism and discipline of the army under his command, and that he feels sure that his orders will be obeyed with the utmost exactness.

Z. TAYLOR,
Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Corpus Christi, Texas, March 11, 1846.

SIR: I have respectfully to report that the last column of the army marched this morning, to be followed by the headquarters in a few hours.

I enclose a field return of the army, exhibiting its actual marching strength: Major Munroe's company, which goes round by water, is not included. The weather continues favorable, and everything promises well for our march.

Please address me as usual, to the care of the quartermaster in New Orleans.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,
Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
*Camp at Los Pintos, route to Matamoras, 31 miles from Corpus Christi,
March 12, 1846.*

SIR: I respectfully report that the United States brig Porpoise arrived yesterday off Aransas. Her commander, Lieutenant Hunt, has been ordered by Commodore Conner to communicate with the army, and render as all the aid in his power. I gladly avail myself of this vessel, in com-

junction with the cutter "Woodbury," to convoy our transports to ~~Brazos~~ Santiago, and assist Major Munroe's command in effecting a landing and establishing a depot in that harbor.

Commodore Conner writes by the brig Porpoise from Vera Cruz under date of March 2d. I enclose an extract of so much of his letter as relates to Mexican affairs. I have nothing of interest to communicate from the frontier, except the enclosed proclamation of General Canales, which, so far as I know, had not at the last advices been made public on the Rio Grande. It was put in my hands just as I was leaving Corpus Christi, or it would have been forwarded from that place.

The different columns are advancing with great regularity, and without any obstacle worthy of note. I have passed the rear brigade, and hope to encamp to-morrow with General Worth's, which is now fourteen miles in my advance. I shall overtake the cavalry before it reaches the Little Colorado.

I have to acknowledge your communications of February 24th and 26th; your letter to Colonel Twiggs of February 23d; the communications of Lieutenant Garnett of January 29th and February 9th, returned as contrary to regulations; and "special orders" Nos. 12 to 15 inclusive.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

[Extract.]

U. S. SHIP FALMOUTH,
Off Vera Cruz, March 2, 1846.

SIR: * * * *

As I have but little intercourse with the shore at this place, my means of obtaining information as to passing events are consequently very limited. From the papers published in the city of Mexico, I learn that General Almonte has resigned the office of Minister of War and Marine, and has been succeeded by General Tornel. The government has been for some time endeavoring to obtain (but without success) a loan of nearly two millions of dollars, for which the property of the church was offered as security.

The papers of the capital also state that within the last ten days a force of nearly eight thousand men, including a large portion of the garrison of Mexico, has marched for the northern frontier. I attach little credit to the statement. It is the general opinion here that the present state of affairs cannot last for any length of time. With the exception of the military, the recent revolution is received by all classes with much dissatisfaction. Even a union of the federalists with the Santa Annaists is spoken of as probable for the overthrow of the present party.

Mr. Slidell is still at Jalapa; and though unlikely as it may appear, I

have it from very good authority that it is probable he will yet be received by the Mexican government.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. CONNER,

Commanding home squadron.

Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,

Commanding army of occupation, Texas.

[Translation.]

Antonio Canales, Brigadier General of the Republic of Mexico, colonel of active militia, and in command of an auxiliary regiment on the northern frontier.

CITIZENS: An arbitrary power has been established in Mexico, derogatory to our legally constituted authorities. One part of the army (or, if you like, the whole of it) has been the author of so scandalous an achievement. Like the Praetorian guards, who destroyed the nationality of Rome, our soldiers have been made the arbitrators and regulators of the destinies of our country. Can you suffer this with supineness? The inhabitants of the northern frontier are not to be so persuaded. I am satisfied of their sentiments, and they will perish a thousand times before they will recognise a government without a national election, and without more authority to command, than the ephemeral and momentary triumph of his arms over the capital of the republic.

Citizens: This is worthless, as we have before seen—a council of generals is not able to judge of the institutions of the country. These are not military crimes that the regulations will bring under their cognizance.

More than this it is useless to say of the grievances of those unnatural soldiers who have turned their arms against their country. But if you are sensible of it, what necessity for explanations? Eloquence and even language itself is superfluous. No one knows the intenseness of grief better than him who suffers. By your efforts, you passed from a federal to a central government, under which you were promised the loftiest riches, glory, and respectability, but a mournful and very grievous experience has convinced us that to nations once thus constituted, such a change, instead of benefits, has brought nothing but humiliation before strangers, misery, and, if we succumb, our slavery and that of our children. The federal constitution was sanctioned in 1824 by the constitutional Congress: let us turn and read its glorious manifest, and then hate more and more the authors of our disgrace.

Let us then declare an eternal war to the death: thus should the people do who rise against their oppressors. Let our voice be unanimous: Liberty or death to our tyrants, and triumph will crown your efforts.

This plan which I have this day announced to my regiment has no other object. To save Mexico or perish is our resolution. God will help us: for his providence only, in wrath, has given these tyrants dominion over us.

These are the sentiments of the northern frontier, and those of your fellow-citizen and friend,

ANTONIO CANALES.

COMARGO, *February, 1846.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp at "El Sauce," 119 miles from Corpus Christi, March 18, 1846.

SIR: I avail myself of a chance opportunity to Corpus Christi to report that I have advanced to this point with the cavalry and 1st brigade of infantry. The 2d brigade encamps to-night about 7 miles in my rear; the 3d brigade about 19. I shall concentrate all my force on reaching the Little Colorado, 13 miles in my front, so as to be prepared for any contingency. I am happy to say that all the corps of the army are in fine condition and spirits, equal to any service that may be before them.

Within the last two days, our advance has met with small armed parties of Mexicans, who seemed disposed to avoid us. They were, doubtless, thrown out to get information of our advance.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp three miles south of the Arroyo Colorado, March 21, 1846.

SIR: I respectfully report that my forces are now concentrated at this point, the 3d brigade having joined me to-day. We are nearly north of Matamoras, and about 30 miles distant.

The Arroyo Colorado is a salt river, or rather lagoon, nearly one hundred yards broad, and so deep as barely to be fordable. It would have formed a serious obstruction to our march had the enemy chosen to occupy its right bank, even with a small force. On the 19th, the advanced corps encamped within three miles of the ford, and a reconnoissance was pushed forward to the river. A party of irregular cavalry (rancheros) was discovered on the opposite bank, but threw no obstacle in the way of examining the ford. They, however, signified to the officer charged with the reconnoissance that it would be considered an act of hostility if we attempted to pass the river, and that we should, in that case, be treated as enemies. Under these circumstances, not knowing the amount of force that might be on the other bank, I deemed it prudent to make dispositions to pass the river under fire, for which please see my "orders" No. 33. At an early hour on the 20th, the cavalry and 1st brigade of infantry were in position at the ford, the batteries of field artillery being so placed as to sweep the opposite bank. While these dispositions were in progress, the party that had shown themselves the day before again made their appearance. I sent Captain Mansfield to communicate with the officer in command, who said that he had positive orders to fire upon us if we attempted to cross the river. Another party then made its appearance,

and passed the river to communicate with me. One of them (who was represented as the adjutant general of the Mexican troops) repeated substantially what had been sent before, viz: that they had peremptory orders to fire upon us, and that it would be considered a declaration of war if we passed the river. He placed in my hands, at the same time, a proclamation of General Mejia, issued at Matamoras a day or two previous, which I enclose. I informed the officer that I should immediately cross the river, and if any of his party showed themselves on the other bank after the passage was commenced, they would receive the fire of our artillery. In the meantime, the 2d brigade (which had encamped some miles in my rear) came up and formed on the extreme right. The crossing was then commenced and executed in the order prescribed. Not a shot was fired; and a reconnoissance of cavalry, sent immediately forward, discovered the party which had occupied the bank retreating in the direction of Matamoras. Agreeably to my orders, they were not molested. The cavalry and 1st and 2d brigades of infantry, with a train of two hundred wagons, crossed over and encamped at this point, three miles distant, at an early hour in the afternoon.

I have thought proper to make a detailed report of this operation, as being the first occasion on which the Mexicans have shown themselves in an attitude decidedly hostile. It has also furnished an excellent opportunity for the instruction of the troops, and for displaying their discipline and spirit, which, I am gratified to be able to say, were everything that could be desired.

I am compelled to remain at this point until joined by the supply train of the 3d brigade, which is unavoidably in the rear. On the 23d, at latest, I expect to resume the march, but am not fully decided as to the direction. While Matamoras is the point to be ultimately attained, it is necessary, at the same time, to cover our supplies, which will soon arrive at Point Isabel.

From the best information I am able to obtain, the enemy is not in force on this side of the Rio Grande. A few rancheros are still on the route hence to Matamoras. It is believed that there may be nearly 2,000 troops in that place, but what proportion of regular troops I cannot state with confidence. The arrival of General Ampudia is expected from the interior, but the accounts I receive of his movements are quite contradictory.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

El General en Jefe de las fuerzas avanzadas sobre el enemigo, á los habitantes de este departamento y á las tropas de su mando.

CONCIUDADANOS: La agregacion del departamento de Tejas á los Estados Unidos, promovida y consumada por la tortuosa política del gabinete del Norte, no satisface todavia los proyectos ambiciosos de los degenerados hijos de Washington. El mundo civilizado ha reconocido ya en aquel acto de usurpacion todos los caracteres de la injusticia, de la iniquidad, de la mas

escandalosa violacion del derecho de gentes. Indelible es la mancha que oscurecerá perpetuamente las mentidas virtudes del pueblo norte-americano; y la posteridad verá con asombro la páfida conducta, la inmmoralidad de los medios empleados para llevar á cabo la mas degradante depredacion. El derecho de conquista siempre ha sido un crimen contra la humanidad; pero las naciones celosas de su dignidad y reputacion, han procurado siquiera cubrirlo con el brillo de las armas y el prestigio de la victoria. A los Estados-Unidos estaba reservado poner en practica la disimulacion, el engaño, las mas bajas insidias para apoderarse, en medio de la paz, del territorio de una nacion amiga, y honrosamente confiada en la fe de las promesas, en la solemnidad de los tratados.

No se detiene sin embargo el gabinete del Norte en su carrera de usurpacion. No es solamente el departamento de Tejas la presa á que aspira: su codicia se estiende hasta la rivera izquierda del Rio Bravo. El ejército estacionado hace algun tiempo en Corpus-Cristi, avanza ya para tomar posesion de una gran parte de Tamaulipas; y su vanguardia ha llegado hasta el Arroyo Colorado, punto distante catorce leguas de esta plaza. ¿Que esperanza queda, pues, á la república mexicana de tratar con un enemigo, que al mismo tiempo de procurar adormecer abriendo negociaciones diplomáticas, procede á ocupar un territorio que nunca podrá ser objeto de la cuestion pendiente? Los limites de Tejas son ciertos y reconocidos: jamas han pasado del Rio de las Nueces; y sin embargo, el ejército americano ha salvado la línea que separa á Tamaulipas de aquel departamento. Aun cuando México pudiera olvidar que los Estados-Unidos promovieron y auxiliaron la rebelion de los antiguos colonos, y que el principio de que un pueblo independiente tiene derecho para agregarse á otra nacion, no es aplicable al caso de haber sido esta la protectora de la independendencia de aquel, con el objeto de admitirlo despues en su seno: aun cuando fuera dable aceptar como axioma del derecho internacional, que la violacion de toda regla de moralidad y justicia puede servir de título legítimo de adquisicion; todavia el territorio de Tamaulipas quedaria fuera de la ley de agregacion, sancionada por el congreso americano, porque ella solo comprende á Tejas independiente, al terreno ocupado por la colonia sublevada, y de ninguna manera á otros departamentos, en que el gobierno mejicano ha ejercido sin interrupcion su legítima autoridad.

COMPATRIOTAS: Con un enemigo que no respeta ni sus propias leyes, que se burla sin pudor de los mismos principios que ha invocado ante el mundo entero para cohonestar sus miras ambiciosas, no nos queda otro recurso que el de las armas. Por fortuna siempre estamos dispuestos á empuñarlas con gloria en defensa de la patria: poca es la sangre que corre por nuestras venas cuando se trata de derramarla para vindicar nuestro honor, para afianzar nuestra nacionalidad é independendencia. Si al torrente devastador que nos amenaza es necesario oponer un dique de acero, lo formarán nuestras espadas, y en sus puntas agudas recogerán los invasores el fruto de su soñada conquista. Si las margenes del Pánuco se han inmortalizado con la derrota de un enemigo respetable y digno del valor mejicano: las orillas del Bravo seran testigos de la ignominia de los orgullosos hijos del Norte, y sus profundas aguas servirán de sepulcro á los que osaren acercarse á ellas. La llama del patriotismo que arde en nuestros corazones recibirá nuevo pábulo con la odiosa presencia de los conquistadores; y el eco de Dolores y de Iguala resonará con armonia en

nuestros oídos, al romper la marcha para oponer nuestros destruidos pechos á los rifles de los cazadores del Missisipi.

HABITANTES de la frontera : No estamos abandonados á nuestros propios recursos : el supremo gobierno vela infaligable por nuestra seguridad y salvacion. Un ejercito fuerte y aguerrido avanza rápidamente para tomar parte en la lucha ; y con su poderoso auxilio alcanzaremos la mas completa victoria. Pero mientras llega el anhelado dia de emprender la gran campaña para reconquistar todo el territorio usurpado, y que nuestras aguilas estendian sus triunfantes alas sobre las margenes del Sabina ; nosotros que tenemos la gloria de encontrarnos al frente de los invasores debemos servir de barrera impenetrable. Nuestra obligacion es tan grande como sagrada : no hay sacrificio que no debamos hacer en las aras de la patria. Se trata de defender los intereses mas caros al corazon del hombre : se trata de nuestro hogar doméstico : se trata de nuestras costumbres : se trata de nuestro idioma : se trata de la augusta creencia que heredamos de nuestros antepasados. Todos estos inapreciables bienes desaparecerian, si los invasores llegasen á afianzar su conquista. ¿Y qué mejicano digno de este nombre podrá resignarse, sin combatir hasta la muerte, á ver degenerar su noble raza bajo la aborrecible dominacion del extrangero ? Ninguno : el elevado sentimiento del honor nacional domina en nuestros corazones ; y desde los confines mas remotos de la república volarán á conservarlo ileso, millares de heroes alentados con el ejemplo de Hidalgo y de Morelos.

SOLDADOS : Ha sonado la hora del peligro : conoceis vuestro deber, y sabreis cumplirlo con lealtad y patriotismo. Tengo el honor de encontrarme a vuestro frente, y estoy persuadido del ardor con que deseais el momento del combate. La conciencia de vuestra superioridad os asegura la mas esplendida victoria. Que avance, pues, el enemigo á quien deseais saludar en el campo de batalla : combatiéremos, y la corona del triunfo será el merecido premio de vuestro valor y diciplina. ¡A las armas ! ¡Viva la nacion mejicana ! ¡Viva la independencia !

FRANCISCO MEJIA.

MATAMORAS, MARZO 18, DE 1846.

[Translation.]

The general-in chief of the forces assembled against the enemy, to the inhabitants of this department and the troops under his command.

FELLOW-CITIZENS : The annexation of the department of Texas to the United States, projected and consummated by the tortuous policy of the cabinet of the Union, does not yet satisfy the ambitious desires of the degenerate sons of Washington. The civilized world has already recognised in that act all the marks of injustice, iniquity, and the most scandalous violation of the rights of nations. Indelible is the stain which will forever darken the character for virtue falsely attributed to the people of the United States ; and posterity will regard with horror their perfidious conduct, and the immorality of the means employed by them to carry into effect that most degrading depredation. The right of conquest has always been a crime against humanity ; but nations jealous of their dignity and reputation have endeavored at least to cover it by the splendor of arms,

and the prestige of victory. To the United States it has been reserved to put in practice dissimulation, fraud, and the basest treachery, in order to obtain possession, in the midst of peace, of the territory of a friendly nation, which generously relied upon the faith of promises and the solemnity of treaties.

The cabinet of the United States does not, however, stop in its career of usurpation. Not only does it aspire to the possession of the department of Texas, but it covets also the regions on the left bank of the Rio Bravo. Its army, hitherto for some time stationed at Corpus Christi, is now advancing to take possession of a large part of Tamaulipas; and its vanguard has arrived at the Arroyo Colorado, distant 18 leagues from this place. What expectations, therefore, can the Mexican government have of treating with an enemy, who, whilst endeavoring to lull us into security, by opening diplomatic negotiations, proceeds to occupy a territory which never could have been the object of the pending discussion? The limits of Texas are certain and recognised; never have they extended beyond the river Nueces; notwithstanding which, the American army has crossed the line separating Tamaulipas from that department. Even though Mexico could forget that the United States urged and aided the rebellion of the former colonists, and that the principle giving to an independent people the right to annex itself to another nation is not applicable to the case, in which the latter has been the protector of the independence of the former, with the object of admitting it into its own bosom; even though it could be accepted as an axiom of international law, that the violation of every rule of morality and justice might serve as a legitimate title for acquisition; nevertheless, the territory of Tamaulipas would still remain beyond the law of annexation, sanctioned by the American Congress; because that law comprises independent Texas, the ground occupied by the rebellious colony, and in no wise includes other departments, in which the Mexican government has uninterruptedly exercised its legitimate authority.

Fellow-countrymen: With an enemy which respects not its own laws, which shamelessly derides the very principles invoked by it previously, in order to excuse its ambitious views, we have no other resource than arms. We are fortunately always prepared to take them up with glory, in defence of our country; little do we regard the blood in our veins, when we are called on to shed it in vindication of our honor, to assure our nationality and independence. If to the torrent of devastation which threatens us it be necessary to oppose a dike of steel, our swords will form it; and on their sharp points will the enemy receive the fruits of his anticipated conquest. If the banks of the Panuco have been immortalized by the defeat of an enemy, respectable and worthy of the valor of Mexico, those of the Bravo shall witness the ignominy of the proud sons of the north, and its deep waters shall serve as the sepulchre of those who dare to approach it. The flame of patriotism which burns in our hearts will receive new fuel from the odious presence of the conquerors; and the cry of Dolores and Iguala shall be re-echoed with harmony to our ears, when we take up our march to oppose our naked breasts to the rifles of the hunters of the Mississippi.

Inhabitants of the frontier: We are not left to our own resources; the supreme government watches indefatigably for our safety and protection. A strong and warlike army is rapidly advancing to take part in the struggle, and with its powerful aid we shall achieve the most complete victory.

Until the long wished for day shall arrive, when we enter upon the great campaign for the reconquest of the territory of which we have been despoiled, and to carry our eagles in triumph to the banks of the Sabine, we, who have the glory to be in front of the invaders, must serve as an impenetrable barrier. Our obligation is great as it is sacred, and there is no sacrifice which we are not bound to make upon the altars of our country. We have to defend the interests most dear to the heart of man: our domestic hearths, our customs, our language, the august faith handed down to us by our ancestors, all are at stake. All these inestimable blessings will vanish if the invaders succeed in establishing their conquest. And what Mexican, worthy of the name of Mexican, can resign himself without fighting to the death to see his noble race degenerate under the abhorred dominion of foreigners? No one; the high sentiment of national honor rules in our hearts, and from the remotest confines of the republic thousands of heroes will fly, animated by the example of Hidalgo and Morelos, to preserve its integrity.

Soldiers: The hour of danger is come; you know your duty, and will fulfil it with honor and patriotism. I have the honor to be at your head, and I am persuaded of the ardor with which you will look forward to the moment of combat. Consciousness of your superiority assures to you the most splendid victory. Let the enemy then come, whom you are burning to meet on the field of battle. We will fight, and the crown of triumph shall be the merited reward of your valor and discipline. *To arms! The Mexican nation forever! Independence forever!*

FRANCISCO MEJIA.

MATAMORAS, March 18, 1846.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Point Isabel, March 25, 1846.

SIR: I respectfully report that I marched on the morning of the 23d instant with the entire army from the camp, near the Colorado, in the order prescribed in my order No. 35, herewith enclosed. After a march of fifteen miles, we reached, on the morning of the 24th, a point on the route from Matamoras to Point Isabel, eighteen miles from the former and ten from the latter place. I here left the infantry brigades under Brigadier General Worth, with instructions to proceed in the direction of Matamoras until he came to a suitable position for encampment, where he would halt, holding the route in observation, while I proceeded with the cavalry to this point to communicate with our transports, supposed to have arrived in the harbor, and make the necessary arrangements for the establishment and defence of a depot.

While on my way hither, our column was approached by a party on its right flank, bearing a white flag. It proved to be a civil deputation from Matamoras, desiring an interview with me. I informed them that I would halt at the first suitable place on the road and afford them the desired interview. It was, however, found necessary, from the want of water, to continue the route to this place. The deputation halted while yet some miles from Point Isabel, declining to come further, and sent me a formal protest of the prefect of the northern district of Tamaulipas against our occupation of the country, which I enclose herewith. At this moment, it was discovered that the buildings at Point Isabel were in flames. I then informed the bearer of

the protest that I would answer it when opposite Matamoras, and dismissed the deputation. I considered the conflagration before my eyes as a decided evidence of hostility, and was not willing to be trifled with any longer, particularly as I had reason to believe that the prefect, in making this protest, was but a tool of the military authorities at Matamoras.

The advance of the cavalry fortunately arrived here in season to arrest the fire, which consumed but three or four houses. The port captain, who committed the act under the orders, it is said, of General Mejia, had made his escape before its arrival. We found two or three inoffensive Mexicans here, the rest having left for Matamoras.

I was gratified to find that the water expedition had exactly answered to our land movement—the steamers arriving in the harbor only two or three hours before we reached Point Isabel, with the other transports close in their rear. The “Porpoise” and “Lawrence,” brigs-of-war, and cutter “Woodbury,” are lying outside. I have thought it necessary to order Captain Porter’s company to this place to reinforce Major Munroe. Our great depot must be here, and it is very important to secure it against any enterprise of the enemy. The engineer officers are now examining the ground with a view to tracing lines of defence and strengthening the position.

As soon as a sufficient amount of supplies can be thrown forward toward Matamoras, I shall march in the direction of that town and occupy a position as near it as circumstances will permit.

I enclose a sketch prepared by my aid-de camp, Lieutenant Eaton, exhibiting the route of march since leaving the Colorado, and the bearings of important points.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. Army, commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

(Original.)

PREFECTURA DEL NORTE DE TAMAULIPAS.

Aunque la cuestion pendiente sobre agregacion del departamento de Tejas á los E. U., se encuentra sujeta á la resolucion del gobierno supremo Mejicano, el hecho de haber abanrado el ejercito que se halla á las ordenes de V. S., traspasando la linea que ocupaba en Corpus Cristi, me pone en la obligacion como prima autoridad politica del distrito del Norte de Tamaulipas de dirigirme á V. S. como tengo el honor de verificarlo por medio de la comision que pondrá esta nota en sus manos, manifestandole : que alarmados justamente los pueblos que dependen de esta prefectura con la invacion de un ejercito que sin previa declaracion de guerra, y sin anunciar explicitamente el objeto que se propone viene ocupando un territorio que nunca ha pertenecido á la colonia sublevada, no han podido ver con indiferencia un procedimiento tan contrario á la conducta que observan las naciones civilizadas y á los principios mas claros del derecho de gentes : que dirigidos por el honor y patriotismo, y ciertos de que nada se ha dicho oficialmente por el gabinete de la Union al gobierno Mejicano, respecto á en sanchar los limites de Tejas hasta la orilla izquierda del Rio

Bravo, y que confiados los ciudadanos de este distrito en la notoria justicia de ser causa y en uso del derecho natural de la defenza, protestan por un organo de la manera mas solemne que ni ahora ni en tiempo alguno consenten, ni consentirán en separarse de la republica Mejicana y unirse á la de los E. U. del Norte, y que se encuentran resueltos á llevar á cabo esta firme determinacion, resistiendo hasta donde alcansen sus fuerzas siempre y cuando el ejercito que marcha á las ordenes de V. S., no retroceda á ocupar sus antiguas posiciones; pues permaneciendo en el territorio de Tamaulipas deben considerar sus habitantes, que cualquiera que sean las protestas sobre la paz con que viene convidando, por parte de V. S. se han roto abiertamente las hostilidades, cuyas lamentables consecuencias serán ante el mundo entero de la esclusiva responsabilidad de los invasores.

Tengo el honor de decirlo á V. S. con el fin indicado, manifestandole mi consideracion y aprecio.

Dios y Libertad. Santa Rita, Marzo 23, de 1846.

JENES CARDENAS.

P. E. S.: JUAN JOSE PINEDA.

Señor Gen. Don Z. TAYLOR.

[Translation.]

*Office of the prefect of the northern district
of the department of Tamaulipas.*

GOD AND LIBERTY!

SANTA RITA, March 23, 1846.

SIR: Although the pending question respecting the annexation of the department of Texas to the United States is subject to the decision of the supreme government of Mexico, the fact of the advance of the army under your excellency's orders, over the line occupied by you at Corpus Christi, places me under the necessity, as the chief political authority of the northern district of Tamaulipas, to address you, as I have now the honor to do, through the commissioners, who will place this in your hands, and to inform you that the people, under this prefecture, being justly alarmed at the invasion of an army, which, without any previous declaration of war, and without announcing explicitly the object proposed by it, comes to occupy a territory which never belonged to the insurgent province, cannot regard with indifference a proceeding so contrary to the conduct observed towards each other by civilized nations, and to the clearest principles of the law of nations; that, directed by honor and patriotism, and certain that nothing has been said officially by the cabinet of the Union to the Mexican government, respecting the extension of the limits of Texas to the left bank of the Rio Bravo, trusting in the well-known justice of their cause, and using their natural right of defence, they (the citizens of this district) protest, in the most solemn manner, that neither now nor at any time do they, or will they, consent to separate themselves from the Mexican republic, and to unite themselves with the United States, and that they are resolved to carry this firm determination into effect, resisting, so far as their strength will enable them, at all times and places, until the army under your excellency's orders shall recede and occupy its former positions; because, so long as it remains within the territory of Tamaulipas, the inhabitants must consider that whatsoever

protestations of peace may be made, hostilities have been openly commenced by your excellency, the lamentable consequences of which will rest before the world exclusively on the heads of the invaders.

I have the honor to say this to your excellency, with the object indicated, and to assure you of my consideration and esteem.

JENES CARDENAS.

JUAN JOSE PINEDA.

To General Z. TAYLOR, &c.

[Extract.]

CAMP ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Opposite Matamoras, March 29, 1846.

SIR : I have the honor to report that I arrived at this camp yesterday with the forces under my command, no resistance having been offered to my advance to the banks of the river, nor any act of hostility committed by the Mexicans, except the capture of two of our dragoons, sent forward from the advanced guard. I deem it possible that these two men may have deserted to the enemy, as one of them, at least, bears a bad character. Our approach seems to have created much excitement in Matamoras, and a great deal of activity has been displayed since our arrival in the preparation of batteries. The left bank is now under reconnoissance of our engineer officers, and I shall lose no time in strengthening our position by such defensive works as may be necessary, employing for that purpose a portion of the heavy guns brought round by sea.

The attitude of the Mexicans is so far decidedly hostile. An interview has been held, by my direction, with the military authorities in Matamoras, but with no satisfactory result.

Under this state of things, I must again and urgently call your attention to the necessity of speedily sending recruits to this army.

The militia of Texas are so remote from the border * * * that we cannot depend upon their aid.

The strength gained by filling up the regiments here, even to the present feeble establishment, would be of very great importance.

I respectfully enclose a field report of the force now in this camp.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
*Camp on the left bank of the Rio Grande,
Opposite Matamoras, Texas, April 6, 1846.*

SIR : I have to report no material change in the aspect of affairs here since my despatch of the 29th ult. The Mexicans still retain a hostile attitude, and have thrown up some works, evidently designed to prevent us from crossing the river. From information on which I can rely, these

works are scantily armed with guns of inferior caliber, and would oppose very feeble obstacles in case the turn of affairs should carry our operations to the other bank.

On our side a battery for four 18-pounders will be completed, and the guns placed in battery, to-day. These guns bear directly upon the public square of Matamoras, and within good range for demolishing the town. Their object cannot be mistaken by the enemy, and will, I think, effectually restrain him from any enterprises upon our side of the river. A strong bastioned field fort, for a garrison of 500 men, has been laid out by the engineers in rear of the battery, and will be commenced immediately. This work will enable a brigade to maintain this position against any Mexican odds, and will leave me free to dispose of the other corps as considerations of health and convenience may render desirable.

The two dragoons that were taken prisoners, as reported in my communication of the 29th ultimo, have been returned by General Mejia, upon my application; but no further intercourse has been carried on with the authorities on the other side since my last despatch. Efforts are continually making to entice our men to desert, and, I regret to say, have met with considerable success. Four, however, have been drowned in swimming the river, and two have been killed by our pickets while attempting to desert, which has operated to check the practice. A majority of those who have deserted are old offenders.

I respectfully enclose the minutes of an interview held on the day of our arrival, between General Worth and General De La Vega, the second in command in Matamoras. I deemed it proper and respectful to announce formally the purpose of our advance to the Rio Grande, and afford an opportunity to establish friendly relations, if practicable. You will perceive that the Mexican authorities persist in considering our march as an act of war in itself; and I believe they would so treat it, and attempt to drive us from our position, if they felt sufficient confidence in their strength.

I have no very accurate information as to the number of regular troops in Matamoras, but I am quite confident that it does not reach 2,000, and they of very bad description, and miserably armed. We hear that General Ampudia is daily expected, and that they are only waiting his arrival with heavy reinforcements, to attack us. The position of our camp is naturally strong, and, without the aid of artificial defences, I feel quite secure against any offensive movement of the enemy.

We have no news upon which we can depend from the interior of Mexico, the last authentic date being still March 2, from Vera Cruz.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

Minutes of an interview between Brigadier General W. J. Worth, United States army, and General Romulo Vega, of the Mexican army, held on the right bank of the Rio Grande, 28th March, 1846.

On exhibiting a white flag on the left bank of the Rio Grande, a boat, with two officers, (represented as cavalry officers,) with an interpreter, the same

who appeared at the crossing of the Colorado, and a fourth person, crossed from the right bank of the river.

It was stated through an interpreter (Mr. Mitchell) that a general officer of the United States army had been sent by his commanding general with despatches to the commanding general at Matamoras and the civil authorities, and an interview requested.

After some conversation explanatory of the above, the Mexican party recrossed the river to report to the commanding general at Matamoras, and return with his reply. An open note for the American consul in Matamoras, with an endorsement on the back in pencil, was delivered to the Mexican officer by General Worth, who replied that he should hand it to the commanding general. "Certainly, of course," was General Worth's remark in reply.

On the return of the same party, General Mejia sent word that, if the commanding general of the American forces desired a conference with the commanding general of the Mexican forces, it would readily be complied with; but, as the American commander had designated a subordinate officer to meet General Mejia, the commanding officer of the Mexican forces, General Mejia, could not entertain such a proposition, but that an officer of corresponding rank and position in the Mexican forces would be designated to receive any communication sent by General Taylor.

It was perceived that the relation of the parties was misapprehended, they supposing that a *conference* was requested; this was corrected immediately, and it was reiterated that General Worth was merely the bearer of despatches, with authority to relate verbally certain matters of interest to the commanding general at Matamoras.

The proposition of General Mejia was then acceded to, with the remark that this was a mere question of form, which should not be permitted to interfere with any arrangements necessary to the continuance of the friendly relations now existing between the two governments.

The Mexican party returned to the right bank, and, after a short absence, returned, stating that General Romulo Vega would receive General Worth on the right bank of the river (their own proposition) for the reception of any communication which General Worth might have to make from the commanding general.

General Worth then crossed the river, accompanied by Lieutenant Smith, A. D. C., Lieutenants Magruder, Deas, and Blake, attached to his staff, together with Lieutenant Knowlton as interpreter.

On arriving at the right bank of the river, General Worth was received by General Vega with becoming courtesy and respect, and introduced to "the authorities of Matamoras," represented in the person of the Licenciado Casares.

On the Mexican part were present General Vega, the Licenciado Casares, two officers, (represented as cavalry officers,) an interpreter, with a person named Juan N. Garza, official de Defensores.

After the usual courtesies on meeting, it was stated by General Worth that he was bearer of despatches from the commanding general of the American forces to General Mejia and the civil authorities of Matamoras; a written and unsealed document was produced, and General Vega desiring to know its contents, it was carefully read and translated into Spanish by the Mexican interpreter.

General Vega then stated that he had been directed to receive such com-

munications as General Worth might present from his commanding general, going on to say that the march of the United States troops through a part of the Mexican territory (Tamaulipas) was considered as an act of war.

General Worth.—I am well aware that some of the Mexican people consider it an aggressive act, but—(interrupted by the Mexican interpreter, and after a slight discussion of the international question on the part of General Vega)—General Worth repeated the above remark, adding that it was not so considered by his government; that the army had been ordered there by his government, and there it would remain; whether rightfully or otherwise, that was a matter to be settled between the two governments. General Vega, still disposed to argue the merits of the case, was told by General Worth that he came to state facts, not to argue them.

General Worth here stated that he had been sent with a despatch from his commanding general to General Mejia; that General Mejia had refused to receive it from him in person; adding, with emphasis, and some degree of warmth, "I now state that I withdraw this despatch," having read it merely as an act of courtesy to General Vega; that, in addition to the written despatch to General Mejia, I am authorized to express verbally the sentiments with which the commanding general proposed to carry out the instructions of his government, in which he hoped to preserve the peaceable relations between the two governments, leaving all questions between the two countries to be settled by their respective governments; and if, hereafter, General Mejia wished to communicate with General Taylor, he, General Mejia, must propose the means, assuring General Vega that, should General Mejia present himself or his communications by a subaltern officer, in either case they would be received with becoming courtesy and hospitality.

The question of right of territory was again opened by General Vega, who asked how the United States government would view the matter should the Mexican troops march into or occupy a portion of the territory of the United States?

General Worth replied that General Vega might probably be familiar with the old proverb, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," and that it would be time enough to reply to such a proposition when the act itself was perpetrated.

This proverb did not appear to have been translated by the Mexican interpreter, but was received by General Vega with a smile and slight shrug.

General Worth.—Is the American consul in arrest, or in prison?

General Vega.—No.

General Worth.—Is he now in the exercise of his proper functions?

General Vega, after apparently consulting with the Licenciado Casares for a moment, replied that he was.

General Worth.—Then, as an American officer, in the name of my government and my commanding general, I *demand* an interview with the consul of my country. (No reply.)

General Worth.—Has Mexico declared war against the United States?

General Vega.—No.

General Worth.—Are the two countries still at peace?

General Vega.—Yes.

General Worth.—Then I again demand an interview with the consul of my government, in Matamoras; in the presence, of course, of these gentlemen, or any other that the commanding general in Matamoras may be pleased

to designate. General Vega reiterated that the consul was in the proper exercise of his functions; that he was not in arrest, nor were any other Americans in arrest in Matamoras; that he would submit the demand to General Mejia, adding that he thought there would be great difficulty.

This demand was repeatedly made in the most emphatic manner, and a reply requested; General Vega stating the consul continued in the exercise of his functions, and that General Worth's demand would be submitted to General Mejia.

Here the interview was suspended, while the Licenciado left the party to submit (as was understood) the demand for an interview with the consul to General Mejia. While engaged in friendly intercourse, General Worth stated to General Vega, in an informal manner, as an evidence of the good faith, intentions, and disposition of his commanding general, that he, General Taylor, was well aware of the importance of Brazos Santiago to the commerce and business community of Matamoras; that he respected their laws and customs, and would freely grant entrance and exit to all Mexican and other vessels trading with Matamoras on the same terms as before its occupation by the United States, leaving all questions arising therefrom to be settled hereafter by the two governments.

At the expiration of about a quarter of an hour, the Licenciado Casares returned and reported that General Mejia would not accede to the request for an interview on the part of General Worth; saying nothing, however, relative to the question of the consul.

General Vega was then again informed that the despatch intended to be delivered to General Mejia by General Worth, in person, would be returned by him, General W., to his commanding general, considering any other disposition of it as disrespectful to him; repeating that it had been read to General Vega as an act of courtesy to him, and that General Mejia must take his own measures of communicating with General Taylor, adding that whether General Mejia should send a superior or subaltern officer to General Taylor, at all times accessible, he would be received with becoming courtesy and hospitality. General Worth then presented a written and sealed document for the civil authorities of Matamoras, which was received by General Vega and immediately transferred to the Licenciado Casares.

General Vega. Is it the intention of General Taylor to remain with his army on the left bank of the Rio Grande?

General Worth. Most assuredly, and there to remain until directed otherwise by his government.

General Vega remarked that "we" felt indignation at seeing the American flag placed on the Rio Grande, a portion of the Mexican territory.

General Worth replied, that was a matter of taste; notwithstanding, there it would remain. The army had been ordered to occupy its present position by its government: it has come in a peaceable rather than belligerent attitude, with a determination to respect the rights and customs of those on the right bank of the Rio Grande, while it offers protection to all on the left bank within the territory of the United States.

No reply having been received from General Vega relative to the demand for an interview with the American consul, the question was again introduced by General Worth, and the demand for the last time reiterated.

General Vega then promptly refused to comply with the demand; replying, without waiting for the interpretation, "No, no."

General Worth. I have now to state that a refusal of my demand to see

the American consul is regarded as a belligerent act; and, in conclusion, I have to add, the commanding general of the American forces on the left bank of the river will regard the passage of any armed party of Mexicans in hostile array across the Rio Grande as an act of war, and pursue it accordingly.

The interview here terminated, and General Worth and staff returned to the left bank of the river.

The above is the substance of the interview between Generals Worth and Vega; is a fair statement of the conversation; and, as nearly as possible, stating the exact words and expressions used on the occasion.

M. KNOWLTON,

1st. Lieut. 1st Artillery.

J. BANKHEAD MAGRUDER,

1st Lt. 1st Artillery, Acting A. D. C.

ED. DEAS,

1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.

J. EDMUND BLAKE,

1st Lieut. Top. Eng.

LARKIN SMITH,

1st. Lieut. and A. D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,

Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 15, 1846.

SIR: I have to report that on the 11th inst. General Ampudia arrived at Matamoras with two hundred cavalry, the remainder of his force, variously estimated from 2,000 to 3,000 men; being some distance in rear on the route from Monterey. Immediately after assuming the chief command, General Ampudia ordered all Americans to leave Matamoras within twenty-four hours, and repair to Victoria, a town in the interior of Tamaulipas. He had taken the same severe measure at Reinosá, on his way hither. On the 12th I received from General Ampudia a despatch, summoning me to withdraw my force within twenty-four hours, and to fall back beyond the river Nueces. To this communication I replied on the 12th, saying that I should not retrograde from my position. Copies of this correspondence are enclosed herewith. I considered the letter of General Ampudia sufficient to warrant me in blocking up the Rio Grande, and stopping all supplies for Matamoras, orders for which have been given to the naval commander at Brasas Santiago.

Notwithstanding the alternative of war presented by General Ampudia, no hostile movement has yet been made by his force. Whether he will feel strong enough to attempt anything when all his force shall arrive, is very doubtful. Our brigades occupy strong positions, beyond reach of fire from the town, and can hold themselves against many times their number of Mexican troops. In the mean time our defences here and at Point Isabel are daily gaining strength. The latter point is well supplied with artillery, and in a good condition to resist attack.

I regret to report that Colonel Cross has been missing since the 10th inst., on which day he rode out alone in the vicinity of our camp. All attempts to trace him have hitherto proved fruitless, and I much fear that he has been waylaid and murdered by banditti known to be in our neighborhood.

To-day I address a letter on the subject to General Ampudia, desiring him to assist in our efforts to ascertain the Colonel's fate.

I shall authorize the raising of two companies of Texan mounted men, for service in this quarter, particularly for the purpose of keeping open our communication with Point Isabel, and relieving the regular cavalry of a portion of their duties, which are now oppressive.

Several resignations of officers have been tendered since our arrival here. While I regret that such has been the case, I have still deemed it my duty to throw no obstacle in the way of their acceptance.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,

Washington, D. C.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 12, 1846.

SEÑOR: I have had the honor to receive your note of this date, in which you summon me to withdraw the forces under my command from their present position, and beyond the river Nueces, until the pending question between our governments, relative to the limits of Texas, shall be settled.

I need hardly advise you that, charged as I am, in only a military capacity, with the performance of specific duties, I cannot enter into a discussion of the international question involved in the advance of the American army. You will, however, permit me to say that the government of the United States has constantly sought a settlement, by negotiation, of the question of boundary; that an envoy was despatched to Mexico for that purpose, and that up to the most recent dates said envoy had not been received by the actual Mexican government, if indeed he has not received his passports and left the republic. In the mean time, I have been ordered to occupy the country up to the left bank of the Rio Grande, until the boundary shall be definitively settled. In carrying out these instructions I have carefully abstained from all acts of hostility, obeying, in this regard, not only the letter of my instructions, but the plain dictates of justice and humanity.

The instructions under which I am acting will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but, at the same time, wish it understood that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities. In conclusion, you will permit me to give the assurance that on my part the laws and customs of war among civilized nations shall be carefully observed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

Señor General D. PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

[Translation.]

FOURTH MILITARY DIVISION, }
General-in-Chief.

To explain to you the many grounds for the just grievances felt by the Mexican nation, caused by the United States government, would be a loss of time, and an insult to your good sense ; I therefore pass at once to such explanations as I consider of absolute necessity.

Your government, in an incredible manner—you will even permit me to say an extravagant one, if the usage or general rules established and received among all civilized nations are regarded—has not only insulted, but has exasperated the Mexican nation, bearing its conquering banner to the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte ; and in this case, by explicit and definitive orders of my government, which neither can, will, nor should receive new outrages, I require you in all form, and at latest in the peremptory term of twenty-four hours, to break up your camp and retire to the other bank of the Nueces river, while our governments are regulating the pending question in relation to Texas. If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question ; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which, with so much injustice on your part, you provoke us, and that, on our part, this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles established by the most civilized nations ; that is to say, that the law of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations ; trusting that on your part the same will be observed.

With this view, I tender you the considerations due to your person and respectable office.

God and Liberty !

HEADQUARTERS AT MATAMORAS, 2 o'clock P. M., April 12, 1846.

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

Señor General-in-Chief of the United States Army,
 DON Z. TAYLOR.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp near Matamoras, Texas, April 26, 1846.

SIR : I have respectfully to report that General Arista arrived in Matamoras on the 24th inst., and assumed the chief command of the Mexican troops. On the same day he addressed me a communication, conceived in courteous terms, but saying that he considered hostilities commenced, and should prosecute them. A translation of his note, and copy of my reply, will be transmitted the moment they can be prepared. I despatch this by an express which is now waiting.

I regret to report that a party of dragoons, sent out by me on the 24th inst., to watch the course of the river above on this bank, became engaged with a very large force of the enemy, and after a short affair, in which some sixteen were killed and wounded, appear to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender. Not one of the party has returned, except a wounded man sent in this morning by the Mexican commander, so that I cannot report with confidence the particulars of the engagement, or the

fate of the officers, except that Capt. Hardee was known to be a prisoner, and unhurt. Capt. Thornton, and Lieutenants Mason and Kane, were the other officers. The party was 63 strong.

Hostilities may now be considered as commenced, and I have this day deemed it necessary to call upon the governor of Texas for four regiments of volunteers, two to be mounted and two to serve as foot. As some delay must occur in collecting these troops, I have also desired the governor of Louisiana to send out four regiments of infantry as soon as practicable. This will constitute an auxiliary force of nearly 5,000 men, which will be required to prosecute the war with energy, and carry it, as it should be, into the enemy's country. I trust the department will approve my course in this matter, and will give the necessary orders to the staff departments for the supply of this large additional force.

If a law could be passed authorizing the President to raise volunteers for 12 months, it would be of the greatest importance for a service so remote from support as this.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., commanding.

The ADJUTANT GENERAL of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



24 185 113

U of Chicago



24185113